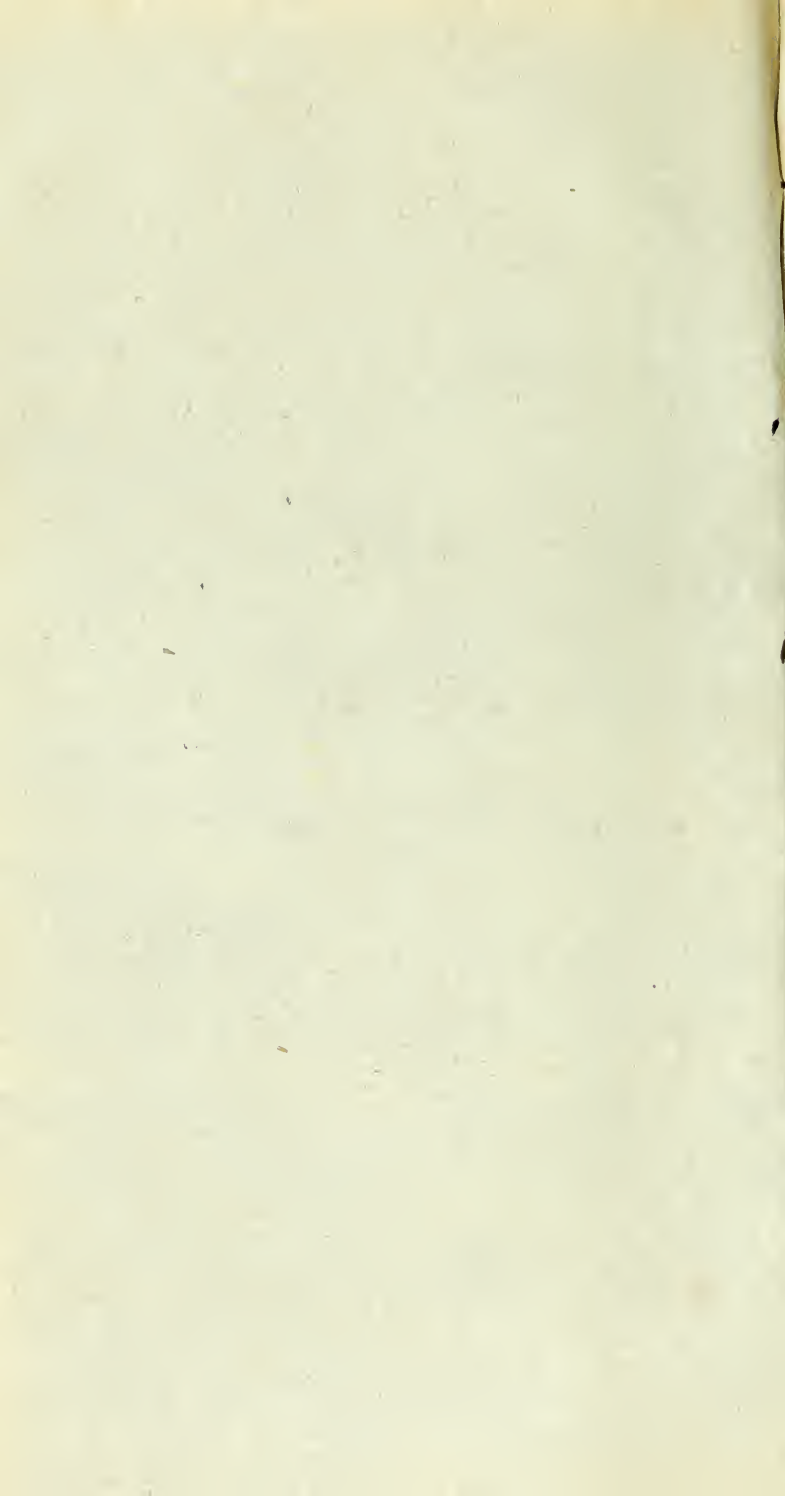


#784

A  
R E P O R T  
OF THE  
DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS  
OF  
*I R E L A N D,*  
ON THE 24TH, 25TH, 26TH AND 28TH  
OF *JANUARY*, 1799,  
ON THE SUBJECT OF  
A N U N I O N.

---

D U B L I N :  
PRINTED FOR JAMES MOORE, NO. 45, COLLEGE-GREEN.  
1799.



THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1799.

THE standing orders of the House were revived, and a Committee of Privileges appointed. Lord Tyrone reported from the Committee appointed to prepare the Address to his Majesty, reading it paragraph by paragraph, and is as follows :

“ WE your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Ireland* in Parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your Majesty with the most cordial expressions of duty, loyalty and attachment to your Majesty’s sacred Person, Family and Government.

“ We sincerely participate in the satisfaction which your Majesty must feel in the happy effects which have followed the unparalleled achievement of the detachment of your Majesty’s Fleet under the command of Rear Admiral Lord *Nelson*, on the total defeat of the *French* Squadron off the coasts of this kingdom by that under the command of Sir *John Borlase Warren*, and on the brilliant and important conquest of *Minorca*; these events, while they afford to us in common with every other description of your Majesty’s subjects matter of just and honourable pride, are calculated to inspire other Powers with confidence, and manifest to all *Europe* that a system of vigour and exertion, directed with manly perseverance against the destructive projects of the common enemy, may be attended with the most beneficial consequences.

“ We most sincerely lament that in several parts of this kingdom a spirit of disaffection still exists, and that the expectation of foreign assistance is kept alive among the lower classes by the secret agents of *France*, but your Majesty may rely on the firmness of our determination to counteract every machination of the enemy, and to continue our exertions with unabated vigour in support of the honour of your Crown, the interests of this kingdom and the general cause of the Empire.

“ We shall take into our early consideration the public accounts and the estimates for the ensuing year, and in granting the necessary supplies we shall endeavour to render them as little burthensome to the people as possible; it will be our desire to make them adequate to the necessary exigencies of the state, as we are confident they will be prudently and economically applied.

“ In reflecting on the general prosperity of the Empire we feel with true satisfaction that notwithstanding our internal calamities the Revenue and Trade of this kingdom have increased, and that our interests are so blended with those of *Great Britain* as to produce a participation in the general prosperity.

“ Your Majesty may be assured that the Protestant Charter Schools and other charitable institutions which have usually received the aid of Parliament will continue to be encouraged by

our support, and that we shall not fail in our attention to the Agriculture, the Manufactures, and particularly the Linen Manufacture of this Kingdom; the honourable claims of those who have suffered from their loyalty during the Rebellion, as they have interested your Majesty's humane regard, are recommended to our liberality by every endearing motive.

"We beg leave to assure your Majesty that we shall direct our efforts with persevering energy for repressing the spirit of disaffection which still requires extraordinary powers to check its malignant effects; we acknowledge the acts of severity which have been exercised to be indispensable, whilst we are sensible that the rigours of penal justice have been tempered with as much forbearance and lenity as the public safety would admit.

"We rejoice that in the general cause which engages the Empire our prospects are highly improved, and we feel the warmest incentives to redouble our exertions as the probability is increased of bringing the war to a successful termination.

"It must be highly gratifying to your Majesty to reflect on that zeal which has been manifested by the Regular and Militia Forces, and by that gallantry which has distinguished the Yeomanry. We cannot too highly applaud their conduct, and when we consider the honourable and effectual assistance of the *British* Fencibles and Militia, and the activity, skill and valour of your Majesty's Fleets, we doubt not that every future effort of the enemy will be entirely frustrated; but reflecting on the situation and circumstances of this kingdom, and considering on the hand the strength and stability of *Great Britain*, and on the other those divisions which have shaken this kingdom to its foundations, we should feel happy if any adjustment can be devised which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our Sister Kingdom to every part of this island.

"*\*The unremitting activity with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a Separation of this Kingdom from Great Britain, must constantly engage our most earnest attention; and as your Majesty has condescended to express an anxious hope that this circumstance, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the Parliament in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and of consolidating as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power and the resources of the British Empire, we shall not fail to give the fullest consideration to a communication of such momentous importance.*

"We return your Majesty our sincerest thanks for continuing the Marquis Cornwallis in the Government of this kingdom, whose eminent military talents and whose experienced wisdom and benevolence are so peculiarly calculated to inspire your Majesty's faithful People with confidence on this important crisis."

*\* This is the paragraph expunged from the address.*

Sir L. PARSONS.—Exhausted as every member must be by the last Debate, and exhausted as the subject has been by so long a discussion—its importance alone can apologise for my making any observations upon it at present. That paragraph of the Address upon which you are now going to decide, would pledge you by a metaphorical expression to admit the principle of a Legislative Union.—I am glad it comes before you again, as it will now give you an opportunity of reconsidering your late decision, and vindicating yourselves and your Country from the disgrace of countenancing a proposition so degrading to Ireland, as that which has for its object the surrender of your Independance. I hoped that in 1782, the Final Adjustment which was then made, would, in the language of the Parliament of that day, put an end to all controversies between these two kingdoms for ever. Such controversies have been always injurious to the Government of this Country, and dangerous to our connexion with England. Before 1782, when Ireland was struggling for her independency, and the English Government contending against it, the consequence was, that all the principal persons in official situations at that time, by voting continually with the Minister against our national claims, became so odious and were so blackened in the eyes of the people, that even after we had obtained our independancy, the people could place no confidence in a Government composed of those very men who had so long resisted it. Sixteen years had removed many of these men, and nearly obliterated the recollection of these old conflicts, and just at the time that it might be hoped that a Government well conducted might possess the public confidence, this unfortunate measure of a Union is now brought forward reviving political controversies, kindling anew political jealousies between the two kingdoms, and debasing and blackening all the official men in high situations here, in the opinion of the people; for never, never can the people of Ireland place confidence in an Administration, composed of men who on this occasion have shewn their promptitude to betray the dearest rights and privileges of their Country.—No! you are blackened, and blackened for ever in the eyes of the people of Ireland! But however unfavourable the sentiment of the people must be towards those men, there is this good consequence resulting from this project, that the sentiment of the people towards this House must be exalted.—The independant Gentlemen of Ireland in despite of all the direct and indirect means which have been employed to pervert them on this occasion, have proved this to the Nation, that their present Independant Parliamentary Constitution is dearer to them than their lives, and that it is but with their lives that they will ever surrender it: Yes, the Parliament, or, I should say, this House, has repeated the malignant calumnies of its universal corruption, which



have been of late industriously propagated from the quarter from which of all others they should last come. There is not in the world a more open, warmhearted, grateful and unsuspecting people than the people of Ireland.—This unfortunate and ill-advised attempt however, must destroy in them all future confidence towards the Government here, as long as it is constituted of those men who on this occasion have been so forward to sacrifice the rights of their Country, even though this day should, as I trust it will, put a compleat and decided termination to the fatal project ;—be assured, it is necessary that we should now put it down decisively, otherwise this Country will continue in a state of ferment and agitation, every day more and more prejudicial to the connexion between these kingdoms ; a Connexion, to which my reason and my sentiments strongly bind me, and which I would preserve at any expence save that of Irish liberty. I do not know who was the adviser of this project, but whoever he was, he must have been utterly ignorant of the sentiments of our people. A statesman should consider two things before he proposes any public measure ; 1st, whether the measure be intrinsically good ? Next, whether it be adapted to the dispositions of the people. Now, any man who knew the Gentlemen and People of Ireland, must have known that a Legislative Union would never have been borne by them.

The Noble Lord has said as an argument for an Union, that this country is too poor to maintain its independance. The answer to that is in the Speech from the Throne, which represents our commerce and revenue to be in a state of encrease. It is notorious to every man that the wealth and revenues of Ireland have augmented in the last 20 years beyond the example of perhaps any country in the world, yet we are told now that we are not rich enough to maintain our parliamentary Constitution, though we have maintained that Constitution for above 600 years when we were so much more poor. The Noble Lord says that an Union will tranquillise this kingdom, the answer to that is in the speech of almost every county Member who has spoken, they say that so far from tranquillising, it will produce, if persisted in, the most violent convulsion. Indeed why should a measure be supposed likely to tranquillise the people, which has not been called for by any class or description of the people, and which every where that any sentiment has been expressed by them, it has been unanimously and strongly against it, save only the solitary corporation of Cork. The Noble Lord has stated the obligation we owe England, for the assistance she afforded us this summer in sending here her Militia and Fencible regiments. I coincide with the Noble Lord in highly appreciating that service, and in honouring the gallantry of those men to whom the Nation owes every possi-

ble demonstration of gratitude, but while he recollects our obligation to England in this instance, let him not forget her obligations to us for similar favours. In the American war Ireland stripped herself of her last man to send out aids to the armaments of England, and armed voluntarily to defend herself. In the beginning of this war we sent almost the whole of our army to fight her battles on the Continent and in the West Indies, as that on the 1st of June 1794, while victory was hovering doubtful over the fleets of England and France, if by any accident the former had been baffled, we should have been invaded, at a time that we had not 2000 disciplined men in our island. I say therefore that if the account were fairly stated of such aids to each country, without detracting from the value of the force we have lately received, the balance would I believe be in favour of Ireland.

The Noble Lord admits indeed that Ireland must lose somewhat by the encrease of absentees but says that that loss would be countervailed by the number of English merchants and manufacturers that would come to settle here. He represents them immediately covering the face of the whole island, and producing every where a new and valuable middle order of men. The same was said in the American war when we obtained a free trade, but no Englishman came to settle here in consequence. Now what inducement would they have to settle here after an Union, which they had not 5 years ago or 10 years ago? Since the year 1779 we have possessed a liberty of trade, a few articles excepted, co-extensive with England, why then have not Englishmen come and availed themselves of it? Why has not our superior situation for trade tempted them here hitherto. It is now 20 years since we obtained that free trade, yet not a single English merchant of any consequence has since settled here. The only possible extension of trade England could give us, is what is called the channel trade and that in the first place is of but little importance, and in the next, it has been promised already by every representative of the English Government in this house for some years past. It was promised by Lord Hobart; it was promised by Mr. Douglass; it was promised by Mr. Pelham, and it was promised by the noble Lord himself, and that in such explicit and emphatic terms, that he said in this House, "that if no one else did, he would bring it forward whenever a season of tranquillity arrived, and that if it should be resisted by Government, he himself would oppose the Minister who should resist it." If then there is any faith in these Ministers, we shall obtain it gratuitously, why then purchase it by the surrender of our Constitution? I believe, no man in his senses would give any thing to purchase that which he could obtain for nothing, but what singular folly would it be for the Irish

Nation, to purchase that which it is assured of gratuitously, by the surrender of freedom and independence and every thing that is dear to a people?

The Noble Lord says that the present Constitution of this country cannot stand, that two legislatures co-equal and co-ordinate in the same empire are incompatible, that they may decide on the same matter contrary ways, and one declare for peace, when the other does for war. This objection to our independance, is exactly the same, as the objection of a noted writer, Thomas Paine, to the English Constitution. He ridicules the Constitution for having three co-ordinate estates, and says, that one may decide one way, and the other, another. But what is the fact? That the objection both of Thomas Paine to the English Constitution and of the Noble Lord to Irish independance, are both theoretical objections, contradicted by constant experience. The same kind of objection might be made to trial by jury, that twelve men would never agree in a verdict, but we find, notwithstanding, that they do agree, and however extraordinary it may appear in theory, yet that in practice it is an admirable institution, and has been found so from the times of our Saxon ancestors to the present day. There is no danger of this disagreement between the independant legislatures of these two kingdoms which the Noble Lord apprehends. There will be always so much good sense in the gentlemen of this House, it will be always so much their interest to accord with England in every thing reasonable, and there will be always so much ministerial influence, necessarily from the nature of our constitutions as will ensure a conformity of will in every thing essential.

See what Ireland already yields to England and then judge, if the government be reasonably well administered, whether there can be any danger of a difference of will between the two kingdoms, or of any breach of the connexion—by giving to England the appointment of the King, we give her the appointment of the first branch of the Legislature, with a negative upon all our laws, so that Ireland never can pass a law unless the great seal of England be affixed to it. Ireland also by giving to England the appointment of the King gives to her the creation of the second branch of our Legislature, and reserves for her own people only the nomination of the third; namely this assembly. By it, she also gives her the distribution of all the honours of the state hereditary and occasional; she gives her the appointment of all the Bishops with the whole patronage of the church; she gives her the appointment of the Judges and all the judicial officers of the Nation; she gives her the nomination of all the officers of the revenue with the unbounded patronage attendant thereon; she also gives her the appointment of the Chief Governor and of the Privy



Council ; she gives her the command of her army, militia and yeomen with the appointment to every commission in these, together with the power of declaring peace and war. In trade too she gives her a monopoly of the whole trade of the East, a hemisphere ; and in the West, she binds herself to trade only with English Colonies, the products of which are the dearest in the world, instead of taking them from other countries where they are cheap ; she gives her besides the sole power of making her treaties of commerce negotiated by her ambassadors and ministers ; she pays also to England an income in money of about a million and a half a year which goes to our Absentees, a necessary consequence of the connexion, and a kind of tribute to it, greater than any vanquished country ever paid for any time to its conquerors, and all this we are willing to give up to England, provided that we are allowed to retain our Constitution, yet are her Ministers not satisfied, but want to despoil us of it also. That Constitution was established by the original compact between the first English King that ruled here, and the Irish people, it was afterwards ratified by repeated charters and statutes, the Nation has been in possession of it for now above 600 years, and the Gentlemen around me have all declared that they will never part with it, but with their lives.

His Majesty's Attorney General indeed has said that the Parliament during the first three reigns after the establishment of the English here, sat in England and that there was then a kind of Union—if it were so, that would be of little import to us at the present day, the consideration being not what the Constitution was then, but what it is now. I hold however in my hand a decisive document against this assertion of the Attorney General. It is the answer of the Irish Parliament to Edward 3d, when summoned by him to England. I will read it to you to shew what the Constitution was, and also what the spirit was, which animated the Irish Parliament at that day. Mark their language speaking to that wise and heroic prince Edward 3d.

“ The Nobles and Commons unanimously and with one voice  
 “ declare, that according to the rights, privileges, liberties, laws  
 “ and customs of the land of Ireland enjoyed from the time of  
 “ the conquest of said land, they are not bound to send any per-  
 “ sons from the land of Ireland to the Parliament or Council of  
 “ our Lord the King in England as the writ requires. Notwith-  
 “ standing on account of their reverence, and the necessity and  
 “ present distress of the said land, they have elected representa-  
 “ tives to repair to the King, and to treat and consult with him  
 “ and his Council ; reserving to themselves the power of yielding  
 “ or agreeing to any subsidies. At the same time protesting that  
 “ their compliance is not hereafter to be taken in prejudice to  
 “ the rights, privileges, laws and customs which the Lords and

“ Commons from the time of the conquest of the land of Ireland, have enjoyed.”

Thus at a time of great exigency, they consent for once to go; but knowing, that mingled with the Parliament of England, they must be outnumbered; and so that great subsidies might be imposed on their own country against their consent, they previously declare, that they reserve to themselves alone the power of raising any contributions on the people; and they conclude, that their compliance on this occasion should never be brought as a precedent for any future day. Nor was it; for never do we meet with an instance of this again.

His Majesty's Attorney General has also quoted the authority of Mr. Molyneux, as favourable to an Union: the name of Molyneux must be dear to every friend of Ireland; and therefore his sentiment should be fairly stated. He was contending against the usurped supremacy of the British Legislature, and writing at a time that our Constitution was so deformed by the perversions of the Law of Poynning, and so subdued by the overruling power of the English Parliament, that, in comparison of that state, he might say, that even an Union was a desirable measure: but if the spirit of Molyneux could now call to you from his tomb, beholding you invetted with all the plenitude of supreme imperial authority, would it not invoke you to part with your lives, rather than with your independance? His Majesty's Attorney General has also quoted the authority of Lord Somers, as a favourer of the Scotch Union; and why should he not be a favourer of it? for he was an Englishman, and therefore a friend to the power of England. There is this difference, therefore, between the conduct of my Lord Somers and his Majesty's Attorney General; that the one was arguing for a Union to exalt his country, that the other is arguing for a Union to debase his. But were my Lord Somers now alive, and an Irishman and Attorney General of Ireland, he would sooner not only part with his office, but with his life too, than support the projected Union.

Were the Union ever so good a measure, why bring it forward at this time? Is it not evidently to take advantage of England's strength here, and our own internal weakness? It is always in times of division and disaster, that a nation avails itself of the infirmities of its neighbour, to obtain an unjust dominion. The history of mankind is full of such instances. Every page presents you with the injustice and rapine committed by one country against the credulity and weakness of another. You have no reason, therefore, to be much surprized at the attempt of the present day. It is a great project to destroy at once the Constitution of this country, which has lasted above 600 years, and at a fatal season to subject it to the domination of England for

ever. What indeed have mankind been warring for since the foundation of the world, but one country striving to obtain dominion over another? and this is the simple state of the attempt of the present day: namely, that Great Britain should rule you instead of you ruling yourselves. That Great Britain should desire to do so, I do not much wonder at; for what nation is there that would not desire to rule another? Nor am I surpris'd that there should be some among you base enough to conspire with her in doing so; for no country can expect to be so fortunate as not to have betrayers and patricides among its citizens. But if this Assembly, the chosen protectors of the peoples rights, should agree thus to betray them; that indeed would be matter of such surprize and indignation too, as I have not a mind to conceive, or language to express.

Our present Constitution of Parliament is as old as our connexion with England; and if you are not false to yourselves and to your country, it will be as lasting as that connexion. According to my Lord Coke, Parliaments were established here by Henry II. According to Mr. Pettyt, there is a record of the Commons being summoned to Parliament here, at an earlier period, than there is any record of the Commons of England being summoned to Parliament there. So much so, that it is from the Irish record that he argues the antiquity of the English House of Commons; supposing, and reasonably, that it must have been as ancient as ours.

We may therefore, without engaging in the disputes of Antiquarians, date the being of our present constitution of Parliament incontestably from as early an Epoch as England can incontestably date the being of hers. Ireland has a Magna Charta too, more than once ratified and confirmed, and as full and as explicit a declaration of liberties as the great Charter of England: That of Henry the Third, runs word for word, the same as the English Charter, changing only the names. Thus not only were Parliaments so early established in Ireland, but the broad basis of chartered liberties, upon which they stood in England, was established here also: our predecessors knowing that both were necessary to their liberty and happiness, the charters, as defining their individual rights, and their own Parliaments, to watch over and protect them. And therefore when Edward the Third summoned the Irish Parliament to England, they protested against the precedent as I have stated. For our predecessors had not that silly confidence in the English Parliament which we find in some weak men of the present day—they knew that if they sat in the English Parliament, they must be out-numbered—that if they were out-numbered, they should be out-voted in the only instance in which the interests of the two countries were likely then to

come in competition;—namely the supplies that Ireland was to contribute—and therefore they previously declared that no English member should vote on those supplies, and this they did too unanimously; Sir, there was not to be found in the Parliament of that day, one man so insane or so base as to trust the interests of Ireland to the overruling numbers of the English Parliament. Will not their spirit animate you now, and their wisdom dictate to you your duty?

The answer of this dignified Parliament to the summons of Edward the Third, secured the independance of Ireland for many succeeding ages. In later times however the extraordinary doctrine was broached, that the English Parliament had a right to make laws for Ireland. The first controversy on this subject took place in the reign of Charles the First, when this country had been torn and wasted by Rebellion. It was again revived and exercised in frequent instances, when this country was again debilitated by Civil War after the Revolution—and now is the supremacy of the English Parliament attempted to be revived once more, and in a more formidable shape than ever, by the extinction of our own, when this country has been once more enfeebled by its own internal dissensions and conflicts. So natural is it for a nation to encroach upon the rights of another, at the time that it is weakened and distressed, and so clearly is the design of England manifested by our history, her usurpation continually treading upon the heels of our infirmity. In the American war, however, Ireland burst the chain of these usurpations—how?—by her Parliament. It was our own Parliament then, aided and urged by a high-spirited people, whose hearts throbbed with liberty, and whose hands were strong with voluntary arms; it was here, I say, within these walls, that this assembly, the organ of the popular will, put forth its voice and demanded the freedom of our constitution, and the uncontroled, legislative and supreme authority of the land. It was here before the breath of the Parliament of Ireland, that the usurping domination of England bowed its head and dropped the sceptre of its power, and therefore it is that our Parliament is now to be utterly destroyed, root and branch, not a fibre of it left in the land, lest it should grow again, and shoot, spread and flourish, and lest Ireland at some hallowed moment should once more through the medium of this assembly recover its freedom. Annihilate the Parliament of Ireland, that is the cry that comes across the water—Now is the time—Ireland is weak—Ireland is divided—Ireland is appalled by civil war—Ireland is covered with troops—martial law brandishes its sword throughout the land—now is the time to put down Ireland for ever—now strike the blow—who?—*is it you?*—will you obey that voice?—will you betray your country?



Lord CASTLEREAGH said it was by no means his desire to re-argue the question so extensively debated on Tuesday; the object of the Honourable Baronet was to expunge this paragraph from the Address, and to that only he would speak.—What did the paragraph imply to any man who took the pains of reading it? Nothing more than the readiness of the House to enter into the consideration of such measures as should be most likely to consolidate the strength of the Empire. Could any man deny that this was a desirable object? or could any man expect that such a metaphorical expression would be laid hold of to imply that by it that House was specifically pledged to the measure of an Union?—It was urged, that the person representing Government in that House had not declared positively to the House, that he would not again bring forward the question this Session: Could this be a motive for refusing assent to the paragraph? What was the declaration made by that person? that he would look to the sense of Parliament and of the Nation, and give it its fair weight, in the prudential consideration of re-agitating the question. But convinced, as he was, that the measure was one of great and important advantage, he would never lose sight of it; and if he felt that conviction, he would desert—basely desert his duty, were he influenced by clamour to abandon it. He had not pledged himself to renounce it for the Session, but he was pledged by a stronger tie—his attention to the opinion of Parliament and the Country: had it been necessary to bind him by such a promise—had he been such a person as nothing but an extorted consent could bind, how easy would it be for the Minister to elude such a promise; how easy, if the sense of the country should change, would he be able, by a prorogation, to put an end to this Session, and propose the measure in a new one? Was the Parliament so distrustful of itself as to find such a promise necessary? was it so afraid of the change of sentiment in the country, as to wish to tie up its own hands against the measure? if it were so, might not such a Parliament be sent back to its Constituents, if it were frantic enough to bind itself by a resolution which might render it necessarily regardless of the voice and interest of the country? Parliament had at all times the power of dismissing from immediate discussion any measure proposed, but it could not exclude future discussion; it was the duty of the Minister to offer whatever he thought for the national advantage; by the Constitution, he could not be precluded from proposing such measures, it was his imperative duty, which he must discharge; had such been the opinion, or such the rule of Parliament, we should not have the British Constitution. Were party cabal or party trick to influence his exercise of duty, we should not enjoy that Constitution—for by the British Constitution the origination of great national measures is pleased in

the Crown ; had it been heretofore in the power of party cabal to resist even the investigation of such measures, would that Constitution have been what it is? were a British Minister to be influenced by *Round Robins* and *Cabals*, by combinations, to withhold from men, on account of their political conduct, the bread due to their professional labours, the British empire would not be in the glorious situation in which it now stood.—If this country, said his Lordship, is to be governed by combination, it is brought to absolute ruin. Government has been charged with dismissing its servants for their political opinions: it is the right and privilege of Government to do so; the British Constitution does not consider places under the Crown as mere annuities for the emolument of the possessors: it invests the Minister with the right of choosing and dismissing the servants of the Crown, to give weight and dignity to the Crown; and if the Minister must retain those persons who are hostile to his measures, because such is the will of a faction, the constitutional power of the Crown, and with it the Constitution itself, are at an end.—The same Constitution gives to Parliament a controul of the conduct of that Minister; to Parliament he is answerable for his conduct, not to faction; and Parliament is no longer Parliament if it has not energy sufficient to controul the Minister. What kind of an opposition has been arranged against the measure discussed yesterday? Do not gentlemen perceive the effort of interested party to form a cabal for private purposes?—Look to the opposition in Scotland against the same measure—composed exactly of the same materials: see who are the most active here—some of the very men who by attempting to degrade and vilify Parliament have given a pretext to traitors and rebels. What were the last words of the person now most forward, upon his seceding from the House? “That the Parliament was so lost to every constitutional principle, that he was ashamed to continue to sit in it, and therefore abandoned his duty:” This was his last expression. What was the last effort of his public life? To assimilate the Parliament of Ireland to the Government of France, to carve out the country into French departments, and by a system of representation which had destroyed France, to introduce anarchy and massacre into this country. After failing in this project from the spirit and good sense of Parliament, did he not shrink from the contest excited by his own principles and his own example? Have the loyal gentlemen, who now strangely voted with him and his party, so forgotten all these circumstances; have they so lost the recollection of those calamities, that they can look to him and his friends with confidence for the future Government of this country? It is impossible;—the phrensy of a moment may have seduced them into such strange company; their returning good sense will permit them to look upon it as it deserves.—

Another description of the opponents of this measure is of a very opposite kind indeed to that person and his friends:—They are the men, who, in the time of danger, stood forward like men to rescue their country from the consequences produced by those who are now their allies. But those men never can so far forget the common object—the connexion with Great Britain, (for which both of us are labouring, though with different opinions as to means) so far to disgrace themselves by acting with those who wished to debase Parliament and destroy their Constitution—let those loyal gentlemen assure themselves that they can never raise those persons to their own proud rank, though they may unhappily degrade themselves to their level. Let them not be so hurried away by their feelings, as to entertain for a moment an idea that because they happen to agree in this one point, a common co-operation with their enemies is necessary. Let them not be imposed upon by the artifice of these insinuations, that the measure is to be carried by a military force: it is a fraud practised upon their honesty: it would be a wretched Government indeed, which would destroy the attached adherents of Monarchy by employing force or corruption to carry any measure, however advantageous in prospect. Resolved as I am, never to be deterred by cabal, from offering any measure to the discussion of Parliament, I never could embark in so absurd a scheme as to conceive it possible to intimidate or corrupt the country into any measure whatever.—There have been in the course of debate insinuations of a general nature, that Ministers had employed illicit means to secure support: I pass them by as they deserve, with contempt; but I have also heard particular circumstances mentioned as facts, of so base and false a tenor, that I will trace them to the individual, be him who he may, from whom they originate, and force him to make a public disavowal. I shall not delay the House much longer, but before I sit down, suffer me to deprecate that species of equivocal language which is neither altogether personal, or altogether parliamentary: if gentlemen conceive that any man on this side of the House has done them personal injury, let them come forward and seek redress like men. If they wish to enter into personal contest, let them avow their wish and come forward like men; but let them not resort to that kind of language, which is just so far short of personal offence as to shelter them from personal chastisement; let them not disgrace Parliament by introducing that which has proved so fatal to the country—angry invective and illiberal personality.

Mr. G. PONSONBY said, he once heard of a certain person who had been so bold as to tell the people of this country in that House, that it was idle and silly in them to talk about subjects which they did not understand; though that subject was the

surrender of their Constitution and Liberty ;—but he could *not* believe that even the bold insolence of that man would venture to tell the majority of the Irish House of Commons that they were dupes of faction ; that they acted under the influence and management of factious men, when they refused to annihilate the Irish Parliament, and give up the independance of the country. How did the country gentlemen of Ireland feel on this ? Are they tame enough to bear the imputation of being fools—*instruments* that are used by a few factious men for the worst purposes ? Would they submit to such a declaration from a young man, who had nothing to shield him from their contempt, but the office which he abused ? Of what men was the body which opposed the Minister on this subject constituted ? Certainly men of different political principles were to be found among them.—But was the Constitution of Ireland to be surrendered, because there was a difference of opinion on some questions between those who were unanimous on this ? You, Mr. Speaker, said he, are of that number—and, no doubt, it is the weakness of your mind which thus renders you the tool of party—or it is factious disposition which has placed you at the head of that party. Where are the cabals and round-robin of which the Noble Lord speaks ? Is it in that profession which is truly called the first profession in the country ; and in which are to be found men, to whom compared, the Noble Lord, in every point of view, is but a Puny Child ? That profession have this day declared unanimously that they will not accept of the office from which a Right Honourable Gentleman near him was dismissed, because he would not submit his understanding and his conscience to the will of the Noble Lord. Was that the result of interested faction ? Had they been hunting for places, from which the Intemperate Folly of the Noble Lord had displaced the old and faithful servants of the Crown, his charge would have been founded ; but acting as they had done, what honest man but must feel indignation at the aspersions which were wantonly thrown on them ? Did the Noble Lord know any thing of the Constitution ?—If he did, must he not know that the House of Commons have a right to advise the Minister ; and that the People have a Right to express their sense of his measures ? Did the Noble Lord already think himself an absolute Monarch in Ireland ; or that the King's servants held their places subject to him only, and so long as they agree with his measures ? It was the duty of that House to express their sense of public measures ; and Parliament had often dismissed the Minister for proposing bad measures. But did the Noble Lord acquiesce in the opinion of the House in this instance ? No—he said, indeed, he would not *now* push the measure ; but he declared at the same time, that he would never lose sight of it. No thanks to the Noble Lord for now pushing it, for he *could*



*not* carry it—thanks to the cabal ; thanks to the virtue and spirit which had appeared both in and out of Parliament. But let the spirit of the House or of the country slumber, and then we know from experience what use the Noble Lord will make of the favour of the Crown to force the measure on the country. Even then, he believed, the attempt would be unsuccessful ; but he would not leave it in the power of the Noble Lord to practise again in support of the measure those unconstitutional arts which he knew he *had* practised. No ; let the Noble Lord avow that he never will again propose to the country this abominable measure while he continues in office ; let his friends advise him to this step, the only one which can put the country at rest. He would now address himself to those gentlemen who supported the measure ; they were interested perhaps in supporting the Minister ; but most of them must be more interested in the peace and prosperity of the country. He submitted it then, whether their true interest did not call on them in this instance to oppose the Minister, and put to rest a question which cannot but agitate violently the public mind. It was not disgraceful to recant an error ; they might have mis-reckoned on the sentiment of the House ; they might not have known the sense of the country ; and they would not, as men of sense, endanger the peace of the country, by keeping afloat a question which it was already evident could not be carried.

Mr. Ponsonby then alluded to the charges of inconsistency which had been made against those gentlemen who had seceded from Parliament in disgust, and now returned to it. He was one of them. He now found he miscalculated the virtue of Parliament and the people. He regretted his mistake ; he now saw the gentlemen of that House begin at last to see that their estates were better than their places : such good sense and honesty in Parliament would lead to re-establish the peace of the country. In the peace of the country alone was he interested ; and to promote that, he would, day after day, press the Minister, until he forced him to make a full and formal renunciation of this dangerous and wicked measure.

Hon. D. BROWNE professed that he never gave a vote in that House which was more the result of honest conviction, or with which he was better satisfied than the one which he gave last night on the discussion of this question : his sentiments were not altered, and his vote would still be the same. He could not but suspect the motives of gentlemen who were for preventing a fair discussion of the measure on its own merits ; for the only way to ascertain the goodness or defects of a measure, was to give it a candid and dispassionate consideration. The judgment of any man would not be injured by exercise ; and every Member of that

House would be as free to reject the measure, implied in the paragraph now debated, after he had afforded a due consideration to it, as before. After some further observations on the subject, not very remarkable for their novelty or application, he concluded by supporting the Address as it stood.

COUNS. J. BERESFORD applauded the manly and honourable manner in which the Noble Lord (Castlereagh) had this night declared himself; that the Noble Lord had fairly declared, that he did not consider the House, by voting for the Address as it stood, as binding the House to support the measure of an Union. The Address barely pledged the House to a consideration of the subject. It came down to the House, recommended for consideration by our most gracious Sovereign, and on that account, at least, merited consideration. The unhappy feuds which had so long agitated this country, and converted it to a charnel-house, called for some effectual and extraordinary remedy: would the House then reject without consideration; would they preclude themselves from hearing the Propositions suggested by the Father of his People, as a *panacea* for the disorders of this distracted land? He deprecated that kind of imputation coming from gentlemen who opposed Ministers on the last night's debate, charging on gentlemen who supported Ministers on the principle of Union, the influence of private interest or corrupt motives. He spurned such language with indignation; there was at least as much honour, as much patriotism and independant principle amongst those who supported, as amongst those who opposed the principle of an Union; and in voting for that principle, as he should this night, he should feel himself entailing upon his country no disgrace, by more closely and inseparably connecting her with Great Britain, the mistress of commerce, the protectress of Europe, and the admiration of the world.

MR. MARTIN.—Mr. Speaker, I rise to thank the Noble Lord for his declaration on closing the last debate on this subject, that he would not press the measure until the country had sufficient time to be well informed on a subject of such national importance; but I applaud the Noble Lord infinitely more for his declaration now, that he would take the first opportunity that occurred, after allowing a due time for a fair and liberal discussion every where. We have been told with great triumph by my friend the honourable Baronet, that since the year 1782, this country has afforded a perpetual scene of discontent;—Sir, I protest this is not, in my humble opinion, an argument against a Legislative Union: I think the reverse. Since 1782, we are told that the nation has increased in agriculture, manufactures and trade; it is true, and yet this is no reason against a Legislative Union. Since that period, wealth has been more generally diffused through Ire-

land, than any other Country; the poor have grown rich, and there has arisen amongst us an agricultural yeomanry. If a country, Sir, that was poor, is increasing beyond example in its agriculture and its commerce, and yet becomes hourly discontented, and at last breaks out into open rebellion against all its constituted authorities; what is to be done? Will my honourable friend propose to desolate the land, and deprive them of all those benefits? We are told again, that Great Britain was in earnest, and sincere in the Adjustment that took place in 1782—she was; and and if she has changed her mind, it is, from the imperative situation of affairs; for those discontents we must look for some cause, that cause is faction. The mischievous trade and speculation of Parliament; it is a faction that has arisen within these walls; who labour incessantly, who see the woes of the nation so long only as the Minister has been unmindful of their own, and for the redress of them are so clamorous, that they “make the night joint labourer with the day.” We are told by the honourable Baronet, that although Parliament had sunk for some time *a little* in his estimation; and although *he once thought* that some *little correction* by reform was necessary, yet that such was his *present confidence* in their *integrity* and *disinterested virtue*, that he was *very sure* that they would answer every beneficial purpose to the nation, without any such *harsh* correction. The honourable Gentleman next to the honourable Baronet spoke of *his confidence* in the Parliament, which Parliament *he abandoned* for their *incorrigible wickedness and corruption*. This change of sentiment, Mr. Speaker, has not been publicly avowed much above eight and forty hours; and you may best judge, Sir, whether there were any kind of offices manifested at an earlier period to bring about so extraordinary a revolution in the moral frame. Now all this is no argument against a Legislative Union, but it is a very strong one for it. I appeal to the common recollection of the House, and to every corner of the kingdom, whether the leaders of this debate did not declare, that the refusal of a Parliamentary Reform was the cause of every misery the country sustained, and finally of the Rebellion. Did any, and which of them declare, that he would never accept any office under any Administration, nor support any Government that did not adopt the plan of specific Reform, which he submitted to them? Now, Sir, I ask the nation, if the refusal of Parliamentary Reform was the cause of all that has been asserted; (and I think it greatly contributed to it) and that that is to be persevered in, how is the country to be saved? There wants none to this tissue but one absurdity, which is this, that those gentlemen who are become the instruments of this faction, and who left the honourable Mover in a Minority of Seven, should now declare, that they had in turn changed their opinions, and would support that very Reform which

they rejected with indignation ; let us now see, what means the gentlemen on the other side of the House have to propose to save the country, other than that of *ruling* it ; which some think would *not save it*. Even until this moment one party declared, that the refusing to purify the Parliament was the cause, the sole cause of every calamity ; another division of this same party declared, that the factions declamations, and the industry with which they taught the people to clamour for what they could not comprehend, and what could administer no remedy to the evils they affected to cure, was the true, legitimate and only cause of these calamities. On all hands it is admitted that *something must be done*. The gentlemen on the other side condemn *as ruin*, not only the *adopting* a Legislative Union with Great Britain, but the *considering* or *understanding* the subject before we determine not to entertain it. This *something* then, is the Legislative Union which we are confident to hope may be so shaped by the wisdom of the two countries, as to prove a true and lasting remedy for those miseries we have all lamented. We have shewn *our plan* ; if it is condemned, let all those gentlemen who so confidently censure, what they disdain to consider, and who are so desirous to commit their minority, who almost constitute the majority of this House, against the measure ; we call upon upon them to produce *their plan*, which, if found better, will be the best condemnation of ours : and I promise them for one, I shall be the first to subscribe it. What, Sir ! Is it to save the country, to criticise with a jealous minuteness every plan offered by those who are *really interested* in its salvation, and with a cautious policy, more *cautious* than *honest*, to withhold any proposition of their own ? We have shewn to the world our case ; some of them are lawyers, and I call upon them to shew a better title than the Noble Lord has done, to the gratitude of the nation. They remind me of the humorous story of a modern Traveller, who relates that his companion never passed the statue of Jupiter without a courtly obeisance ; and, as not quite sure of a sudden restoration to the superintending care of the Capitol, *as* regularly attended the reigning power at the Vatican.— If our Constitution stands, and may it stand for ever ! they have avowed nothing so monstrous as to be excluded from its blessings. If it falls, and is reduced to the first chaotic principles, some may hope, like what is lightest and vilest, to float upon the surface.

But, Mr. Speaker, we are told that England will afterwards have a right to levy every arbitrary Tax upon this Country to its utter ruin ; and the dissemination of this folly has deluded many persons out of this House to disapprove the measure. I tell the Hon. Gentlemen on the other side, and I desire to be contradicted if I am wrong, That the terms of the Union may secure to this Country the quantum of Taxation which it shall be possible



for the united Parliaments in Britain to levy. The rate of taxes here may be after the Union infinitely less than they are at present.

An Hon. Gentleman not in his place, has told you Sir, that Gentlemen who prefer their estates to their places, will vote against this measure. I have no office, and I prefer my estate to the income of any three of the proudest offices in the Country, and therefore shall vote for taking this measure into consideration. We hear that no one argument has been used in favour of any plan of Legislative Union, now here is one that I have not heard.—By an Union England and Ireland will be made in effect one Country, and England must then use the same exertions to save the county of Mayo, as she would do to protect Suffex. It is said, in any event she will protect Ireland—she will undoubtedly; but there is a greater effort which England will exert after the Union even by *staking her own fate with ours*. This is an argument and I rely upon it as such. Have we not heard, that when the French landed at Bantry bay, England over-looked our security and was indifferent to our fate, and it became the subject of Parliamentary enquiry; we heard it from the hon. and learned Gentleman most forward in the Debate. Now Sir, if this calumny on the character of Great Britain weighs with no other Gentleman, it must with the Hon. Member who used the argument as a motive for considering the propriety of a Legislative Union. We are told a Union will degrade the Nation. Hear the answer, and it is a short one. If Ireland Sir, be united to England, England must be united to us; now, it is not pretended it can degrade England, and yet if it degrades one it must both; so the true and only conclusion is, that it degrades neither. The Hon. Baronet is disposed to forget the original sin arising from the very formation of Parliament and the corruptions of its members in this one act of disinterested virtue. Has Parliament no interest in voting against this Union? Alas! Sir, they have much more *than their constituents*; but they have many county members. On the calculation of interest they must have *thirty one*, that is the number which it is supposed will be excluded from the Union Parliament; but they ought to have more, for in many instances, the colleague who is excluded, will by uniting his interest with some other person, exclude the Member who should vote for the Union; and this argument might in very many instances apply to both the County Members. Many of the great borough proprietors are against this measure; have they no interest in opposing it? Is it nothing to weigh in golden scales the fate of every Administration coming into this Country? Is it *no power* to be able to abuse power, to expel two Lord Lieutenants for endeavouring to rescue the Constitution, and turn to flight one Commander in Chief, Sir R. Abercrombie, who never fled in battle, because he differed from them—because he said the

discipline in some part of the army was relaxed? He disapproved of burning houses and of free-quarters; and the borough proprietors chose to have both. Are these matters fact? if so, they cannot recur frequently, and the *nation exist*; and yet, the Gentlemen on the other side, who once rent almost the vault of Heaven in their complaints, have now no remedy but submission; yet, Mr. Speaker, this is the language of this night, and after such language can the Union continue to be unpopular?—It cannot, it shall not. For example: Galway a town justly dear to me, has suddenly prejudged the measure. In truth, Sir, the discussion of this subject in Parliament is what must and will decide the public mind. I will now engage to meet the Hon. Gentleman before his constituents and to convince them, and to poll them and the population of the town against him on this interesting subject. But the Hon. Gentleman says it is unpopular; that indeed is an argument, if after due consideration it shall continue to be so. But I am happy to think, that the worthy Baronet's constituents may change their opinion of this measure, as they did regarding himself and his colleague; I understand they now think most favourably of both. My hon. friend must know, that when public opinion sets him highest, it is that sentiment to which I would most willingly subscribe. The best measures, however, were at first unpopular: The Octennial bill was in this House unpopular. The Administration of the Country once offered to support a tax upon Absentees; would that, Mr. Speaker, have been a good measure or not? This measure was opposed and lost, and some of those very Gentlemen who but a session ago opposed a measure that would bring home our Absentees, now principally clamour against the Union on the ground that it will occasion some Absentees.—There was another measure greatly unpopular in the nation, which originated in the Duke of Portland's Administration; I mean fencible regiments for the protection of Ireland: I think, Mr. Speaker, such a defence would have been at least as constitutional as regiments of the line or alien troops subsidised. There have been even characters, Sir, very generally and universally odious, that have on a particular occasion become popular; so that popularity, Mr. Speaker, though some test is not always a sure one.—Is it not an argument for the Union to say, that the power of the Lord Lieutenant of this Country is absolute as to evil, but circumscribed as to good? That we have the theory of the English Constitution is our boast; that we have abused it is our reproach.—Is the 36th and 37th of the present reign an abuse of it? Is the Press bill, which while it set at nought the liberty of the press, refuses to recognize that that liberty is a constitutional right? Is *this* the Constitution? What shall I say of three Indemnity bills in four years, protecting every magistrate and every soldier for all the enormities which in

that time have been perpetrated, from a common assault up to murder and petty treason?

Mr. DOBBS—Sir there is one thing, and one thing only, in which I agree with the three Members who spoke last, on the opposite side. It is Sir, in reprobating with them all personality. But Sir personality has not been confined to this side of the House, it will however I trust in future be discarded by all: and here Sir I cannot help observing, that were I to say any thing personal of the Noble Lord, who is the first Minister here, it would be favourable to him. In a transaction of some importance during the last Session, I had frequent intercourse with the Noble Lord, and I found his manners pleasing, and what is more to his honour, his heart humane. I found him bent as he ought to be, to do what justice demanded, but at the same time to temper that justice with mercy. Sir I am sorry the Noble Lord has thought proper to make an attack on the Barristers of Ireland; a body of men I will venture to say more truly patriotic, than any other in the Nation unless it be the present House of Commons. We indeed have it in our power to take precedence, and I trust we have not only the power but the will. Sir the conduct of the Irish Barristers has more than once been instrumental in saving the Nation. They were among the foremost of the glorious volunteers of 1780, 1781 and 1782, who at once gave peace and security at home, and protected us from foreign invasion, when the fleets of England hid themselves in their ports, and the French and Spanish fleets rode triumphant in the British Channel. The Barristers of Ireland originated the yeomanry to whom this country chiefly owes its present salvation. The Barristers of Ireland originated the opposition to this intended Union that would at once degrade, and destroy a kingdom. But Sir it is not wonderful that men of birth, education and talent, should be the protectors of the rights of their country. I say Sir for the most part of birth, for I will venture to assert, there is not a family in Ireland of 1000l. a year that has not a near relative at the Bar. I say Sir of talent, for every man in looking to the line of life, his children are to pursue, selects that son whom he supposes possessed of the best abilities, for the profession of the law; and here too Sir let me observe, that where men have not the advantage of birth or fortune, it must be by superior talents indeed, that they make their way through the difficulties attending the first commencement of the legal profession. Let me not then hear again, a reflection on a body of men, that are the pride and ornament of their country,

Sir a Rt. Hon. Gentleman on the opposite Bench has said, he will vote for the Address because he thinks it indecent not to give the question of a specific Union a fair discussion. What Sir



are we to go into the minutiae of a Union, when the question that has been lately debated for twenty-one hours, and is now again debating, is, whether we will have a Union at all? Sir the Rt. Hon. Gentleman cannot doubt the meaning of the words of the clause in debate, as to the connexion between the two countries, because the Minister himself has avowed it is a Legislative Union. Sir another honourable member, who openly avows his approbation of a Legislative Union, argues that it will benefit our trade, strengthen the connexion between the two countries, and give us permanent tranquillity. I did on the last debate endeavour to point out to you Sir, and to the House, that in point of trade England has nothing to bestow, and I offered to produce some of the most respectable merchants of Dublin at your Bar, to substantiate the fact. Sir I did on the last debate endeavour to point out to you and to the House, that so far from strengthening the connexion, it would lead to inevitable separation. Sir I did in the last debate endeavour to point out to you, and to the House, that it would weaken the strength of the loyalists, and enable the republican to triumph over the Constitution. Sir I will not take up the time of the House, in going over the arguments, I have before offered, but shall content myself with reasserting that a Legislative Union cannot benefit our trade,—cannot strengthen the connexion between the two countries,—and cannot give us permanent tranquillity.

Sir there is but one way to tranquillise Ireland, it is to redress every real grievance and put an end to every religious dissension. Let no man flatter himself, that Ireland has been hitherto governed as it ought. I would ask no other evidence to prove the contrary, than the Reports of both Houses of Parliament in the last Sessions. What Sir, but radical errors in the Government, could make 400,000 men take an oath against the Constitution? Sir, I love the British form of Government, though I hate its perversion, and abominate its tyranny towards Ireland. Sir I love Irish freedom, but I hate Irish treason, and Irish sedition. Sir I revere the Christian Religion, but I detest bigotry, and persecution wherever I find it, whether it be amongst those of the Establishment, the Dissenters or the Catholics.

Sir the commencement of this Session has afforded me infinite pleasure. Nay Sir, the sentiments that have lately been delivered here, seem to have operated on me as a salutary medicine. I have for the greater part of the last ten days been confined to my house by indisposition. But the spirit displayed here on the last debate has revived me, and I hope by the determination of this night to be restored to health and vigour.

Sir, if there be three men upon earth to whom Ireland is peculiarly indebted, it is Mr. Pitt, the Noble Lord who is first Minister here, and the author of that Pamphlet which issued from,



and is acknowledged by the Castle. Sir, till now it was only suspicion, that a plan had been formed, to reduce Ireland into the situation of a province. But from the declarations of the three I have alluded to, suspicion terminates in certainty; for the Noble Lord has in his place declared, that it was a measure that would never be lost sight of, till it was carried. Sir we have now full notice of British intention and British determination. We also know Sir, that it has been held out in the pamphlet I allude to, that a Union should be accompanied with certain benefits, to the Catholics, to the Dissenters, and to the People at large. What Sir, shall we allow England to purchase our People by favours, which we have equally the power to bestow? Sir I say if there is common sense in this House; if there is common spirit among us, we will shew to the People, that we are not a venal, a debased, a profligate House of Commons; we will shew to the People that we have been vilified and abused by the author of the Castle pamphlet; and we will shew to the People that we are the true and legitimate guardians of Irish happiness, Irish prosperity, and Irish liberty.

Sir, the present attempt would never have been made, were the People of this country united in affection to each other, and at the same time satisfied with their Government. What then is the path that we are to pursue? It is this, decidedly this, to carefully examine the sources of discontent, and dissatisfaction, and do them away. I will not Sir at this moment, take upon me to say, what it is we ought to do; but this I assert without hesitation, that we should give to the People every thing, that is consistent with the preservation of our present Constitution, and our present connexion with Great Britain. These Sir, are the only boundaries that I draw between what the People can demand, and what the Irish Legislature can bestow.

Mr. HOLMES observed, that he should not apologise to qualify the vote he was about to give—his conduct was owing to the decision of his mind—it was truly astonishing, he said, that from the same data conclusions so opposite could be drawn. The House, he was bold to say, was competent to every thing; and, when it would come before the House, he would be prepared to meet it. By such a conduct, as gentlemen seemed willing to pursue, the Address would probably be lost.

Mr. I. M. O'DONNELL.—It would have been well worth the attention of the Irish Minister, who seems to have made the ruin of his country his nearest and dearest object, to have suppressed, previous to having brought forward this favourite and infamous measure, all such books as this I now hold in my hand, the 5th vol. of Parliamentary Debates. Much pains have been used in England and Ireland, to prevent the circulation of all such books

as would enlighten the understanding or teach men to prefer their country to their private interest. I shall in the course of delivering my sentiments this night, not only be much influenced from what I have read in this book, but I shall use in support of the Constitution of my country the very words spoken by a Rt. Hon. Gentleman opposite me, who now differs from what he formerly supported, a Gentleman whom I looked to as a pattern of private worth and political integrity. But Sir, before I quote from this inestimable volume, I must address you in my own irregular and accustomed way : In opposing a Legislative Union I hope, I am confident, I have expressed the sincere and determined sentiments of my constituents, but as to a Rt. Hon. Gentleman, who *mifreprefe* ; I mean represents me in this House as Member for Mayo, I thank God I have an opportunity of thus publicly declaring for myself, and I am confident for a majority of my brethren the freeholders of Mayo, that in his support of an Union he is not acting in unison with our wishes, nor has he consulted us on the occasion. Sir the Rt. Hon. Gentleman wishes as he has often attempted to do before, to play a double fiddle, Both Sides of the Gutter, it is a deep game ; it is a dangerous one ; he will find it an unsuccessful one, when he shall find himself rejected by his country, he will be publicly despised by the very Minister whom he strives to support even by the ruin of his country, but see how can this Rt. Hon. Gentleman reconcile to himself or his constituents his present conduct, his voting for a surrender of the Legislative rights of Ireland, to his conduct and strong language at the time of the debate on the Commercial Propositions, at that time when the independance of his country was only squinted at ; when the Minister of the day and his friends declared, that it could not be affected by the 4th Proposition, what was his language then ? I will repeat it, for I now see him in his place. On the 2d of August 1785, on the debate on the Irish Propositions, the Rt. Hon. Gentleman said, “ but Sir this arrangement has suggested an idea “ in another country, that I am afraid to mention in *this* House ; “ *I mean a Union*, Good God Sir, what Union could we have “ with Great Britain but a Union of debt and taxation ! a “ Union depriving us of liberty and ruinous to our country,” those expressions reflected on him then immortal honour, what do they now ? Eternal disgrace. Sir, I will be bold to say that the great majority of the freeholders of Mayo are averse to the measure, at any rate I am convinced they do not imagine that their representatives have a right to vote away their freedom, even instructed for that purpose. Sir I love the connexion with England as well as the Rt. Hon. Gentleman ; when my country was in danger, when the connexion was attacked by a foreign and internal force, while some were sleeping, others trembling and some running from their country, I was running to defend it, and I

would do so this moment did the slightest necessity require it, but I will never vote for, nor will I suffer to be voted away, a surrender of the right of imperial Ireland, but I must excuse the Rt. Hon. Gentleman, for he says "he is forced to speak, but not by "his own inclination," how far that will satisfy his constituents I know not, as to the remarks and contradictions that the Rt. Hon. Gentleman has offered to the observations of the Hon. Baronet (*Sir L. Parsons*) as to our having surrendered for ever to Great Britain the right and power of making or appointing a King for Ireland, I do assert we have done so, for should the Parliament of England and the King think fit to change the succession to the Crown of Great Britain to any other person or family, we are bound thereby, and the King of England so appointed, would be *ipso facto* King of Ireland, without any further recognition of our Parliament, for we have already provided it so, it is a part and a necessary part of our compact.

The noble lord, the ostensible minister, has thought proper to arraign the conduct of a body of men, who let me tell his lordship, stand on too proud and stable a foundation to be injured either by his praise or his censure. I mean the Bar, that respectable body who have saved this kingdom, it is to this set of men he has applied the gentleman-like word or epithet of *petty-fogging*; but that is a trifle to the noble lord in attacking those, who dare oppose his projects, his deep, yet ill laid plans for Irish subjection; he tells the *country* gentlemen of Ireland, that they are *dupes* that have joined in cabal and party trick, and that they have associated with democrats, seceders from their parliamentary duty and men who aim at the overthrow of the constitution, in the two distinctions made by the Noble Lord of us who oppose this measure. He has pointed out some as Democrats who failed in their attempt to overturn the Constitution, the others as loyal men, who in the hour of danger stepped forward in support and defence of their King and Country. The minority on the last night amounted to 105; there never were seceders from this House in number 15. Give me leave to ask the Noble Lord, and I appeal to this House, what an infamous measure must that be, proposed by the Minister, which forced 90 acknowledged and tried loyal men to join with those seceders, what a dangerous measure must it not be which unites men of such discordant principles together for the defence of the country! That the Crown has a power to dismiss its Servants I will not deny, but I assert this House has a power and it is a duty incumbent on it, to interfere and call the Minister to an account if he shall exercise that power for an unconstitutional purpose, as has been done in the dismissal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Prime Serjeant. I declare Mr. Speaker, I do feel infinite regret at see-



ing a measure of this sort brought forward under the Administration of a Nobleman I so fully respect—a Nobleman who has already, in spite of every effort to oppose him, nearly tranquillised Ireland, who satisfied and appeased *India* more by character than by arms, and has afforded Mr. Bacon an opportunity of uniting genius and truth in a statue of Lord Cornwallis, sheathing his sword with one hand and with the other pouring the *cornucopia* of plenty over the nations of India. I am confident that Noble Lord has been deceived as to the wishes and determination of the people of Ireland on this subject. I will candidly say, I am certain the Minister in this House was deceived, else he never could have proceeded on this extraordinary, this important attempt to revolutionise this country. For my part I never deceived the government, from the first I said it was a measure I would oppose, that it was fraught with mischief to the kingdom, and must be ruinous to the Empire, that no honest Irishman could exist without opposing it, and that would answer the wishes and desires of the separatists and republicans, if Government would attempt to support the abominable measure.

The Attorney General has thought proper on a former night to bring forward in support of this Union, the writings of the greatest friend that the liberties of Ireland ever had, I need not say I mean *William Molyneux*, it is not the first time that patriot has been insulted by an insolent law officer of the Crown, I believe his book was once burned by the common hangman, why? Because it vindicated the rights and supported the Legislative independence of Ireland. Under the situation Ireland *then was in*, bound and fettered by England, he thought an Union was a desirable thing and that England would not grant it, but were he now alive seeing us possessed of independence and commerce, neither of which could be taken from us but by our own act, he would be the first to call forth every energy of a free people, to defend their rights, and would tell them, that where they were attacked, it was legal, nay it was in the light of heaven necessary, to have recourse to *first principles* to protect and support them. I have felt it necessary to say so much, as well in vindication of the character of the dead, as to satisfy the feelings of a living relative of his, to whom I have the honour to be connected of the same; an inheritor of his private virtues, fully equal to him both in loyalty and patriotism; a man who could never be drawn into the vortex of cabal or faction, or seduced from his duty to his country by the glitter or seduction of a court, who in the hour of danger forgetful of ease and wealth, underwent every fatigue and risque in defence of his King, little imagining the Constitution of Ireland would be so soon attacked, I now talk of *Sir Capel Molyneux*, who has on this very occasion been amongst the foremost to apprise his coun-



try of its danger and to call them to *their posts*. Let me now address myself to the Noble Lord, I have endeavoured to oppose this measure without being personal, I respect his private character, I am an avowed friend to the Administration in which he holds so ostensible and so honourable a situation. It is more than probable, that on every other question he will have my support. I belong to no party; I belong to no cabal, nor to any intrigue, nor am I a dupe. Let me entreat the Noble Lord, as he values the peace and happiness of his country, every thing dear to him as a Minister and a man, candidly and avowedly to come forward and declare he abandons and wholly gives up a measure which is so opposite to the wishes and interests of the kingdom; that he will not keep it suspended over our heads, to keep alive the fermentation of the public mind, which had it not been for this measure would have now been quieted. I invoke him not to keep this odious detested measure suspended over our heads by a single hair, to be cut at his will or that of any other Minister.

Mr. O'Donnel concluded a very long speech with many very apposite quotations, from the speeches of Members who supported the Constitutional rights of Ireland in 1785 on the debate of the Irish Propositions, but who consented to surrender them on the debate for an Union in 1799.

In the course of his speech Mr. O'Donnel went largely into the question of the Scotch Union, paid many compliments to that Nation, and to the gallant conduct of their soldiers, and particularly mentioned the brave and soldierlike conduct of the Frazer Fencibles, who he said were brave in the field and accommodating in quarters, but shewed in the clearest manner that there was no argument to be drawn from the Scotch Union, favourable to the proposed one between Great Britain and Ireland.

Lord CASTLEREAGH rose to explain, and to assure the Right Hon. Member, nothing was farther from his wishes than to throw any aspersions on the profession. In the course of his speech he had used the word "petty-fogging," but not in application to the Bar; it was a vulgar phrase, and he was ashamed of it.

Mr. EDGEWORTH also rose to vindicate the profession, which he could not help saying, had not been well treated by the noble Lord. It was peculiarly proper in that noble Lord to inculcate temper on the House, whose official situation gave him so many advantages over other gentlemen, but it was peculiarly improper in him to have forgotten his own precept, and held out an example of heat and violence. The expression which he repeated in order to give the noble Lord an opportunity to recall it, (for he could not conceive that with so many high law-officers near

him he meant to insult the profession) was the phrase, "Round Robin." Which means a *mutinous demand made by men ashamed to avow themselves the promoters of it*. Did the noble Lord believe that any of the gentlemen to whom he alluded, were ashamed to avow themselves. The meeting was conducted by a gentleman who was the Father of the Bar—was not he an ostensible patron of the measure which they had adopted? Mr. Edgeworth proceeded to say many handsome things of the profession, to which he avowed himself to have been bred. He confessed that when first the measure of an Union was mentioned he was a friend to it: but when he found the sense of the nation against it, he changed his determination.—On great political questions the trustees of the people will necessarily resort to the opinion of their constituents.—To us it should be sufficient to perceive that the majority of the people of this kingdom are averse to a Legislative Union. It is sometimes difficult to determine what constitutes a majority; it may be of two sorts, either of numbers or of property.—Where these differ, a Member of this House, who is a man of prudence and integrity, must be decided by concurrent circumstances:—but when these coincide, there can be no doubt how a delegated Legislator should conduct himself.—The majority both of property and numbers coincide upon the present occasion.—It would be invidious to assert that most of the property and the talents of this House are on this side, but when the arguments that have been advanced, and the names on each side shall be laid before the public, they would determine for themselves. Considering these circumstances, Mr. Edgeworth said he could not conceive that the Minister would persist in the measure, and if not, to what end persist in retaining the obnoxious paragraph? Were Gentlemen ashamed to avow themselves in error when the Nation was against them? If so, he ought to be ashamed. Is there any thing disgraceful in yielding to conviction?—if so, he must submit to that disgrace. He was convinced that such a measure, urged against the sense or the feelings of the nation, would be ruinous and unjustifiable.—The opposition to this measure is not the opposition merely of a *cabal*.—Mr. Edgeworth said he did not mean to catch at the word *cabal*, for the country gentlemen of Ireland ought not to follow the example of intemperance and indiscretion which the noble Lord had set them; but if the Minister was determined to press this measure against their sense and that of the country, he hoped these gentlemen would unite against him and form *one* body, and then they would be able effectually to frustrate any attempt of his, or of any *cabal of pensioners and placemen*. This measure, he jocularly observed, was beginning to make country gentlemen of more importance than they had been. Formerly, he said, a country member might come into Parlia-

ment and sit there for years before his face or name was known—now they are likely to become a very valuable commodity; and if the measure were retained much longer they would rise in price. He therefore recommended it to the Minister for his own sake to let the question rest.—He humorously remarked that much as had been said of the Minister's arts of corruption, they did not stand high in his opinion; he could not compliment the Minister upon his address in this branch of his business. Mr. Edgeworth said he could not boast of having, upon this occasion, withstood seductive temptation; not even the offer of a peerage had been made to *him*; *his* political virtue remained therefore immaculate, for it is allowed on all hands that the nymph is chaste who has never been tried.—To be serious: he rejoiced to see that on great constitutional questions the business of party stopped in that House; and, that though gentlemen speculated with the Minister on other occasions, on these they acted practically with the people. Ireland, he thought, owed great obligations to the Minister and his friends, for they had shewn, not only to her, but to Great-Britain, that she possesses a Bar honest, independant, and energetic, above the temptations of emolument or ambition.—They had shewn that she had a Parliament, which, however its members might, at some times, be diverted from a vigilant discharge of their duty, was, upon great occasions, awake and vigorous to preserve their independance:—The spectacle of this night, he trusted, would convince a neighbouring nation, that, whatever defects there might be in our national character, arising perhaps from constitutional vivacity, the people of Ireland possessed warm hearts and sound heads.—An honourable friend had complained, that it was ungenerous to attack this nation when she was nearly prostrate, and breathless after the violent struggles to which she had lately been exposed.—For his part, Mr. Edgeworth said, he had never seen any persons more alert and alive than the gentlemen at this side of the House appeared to be at this instant; and if they were thus awake and vigorous after the fatigues occasioned by a Rebellion, what must they be at any other period?—Men of the most dissimilar habits, of the most opposite parties have, on this emergency, united in one common cause; those materials which, when separate, had not sufficient attraction for each other, began to consolidate when pressed together by external circumstances.—The Minister might, perhaps, find it dangerous to protract the present state of unanimity. Time might, perhaps, consolidate the scattered country gentlemen of this kingdom, and give them, as a body, that consequence which they ought to possess under such a Constitution as ours.

A really wise Administration would seize this crisis to tranquilise the country.—When the vessel of the state makes no way,

it will not answer to the helm.—When the vessel is in rapid motion it will steer, and may, by a skilful pilot, be at length conducted to security.—An able Minister might, by a prudent use of this happy opportunity, reconcile the dissensions of this country, and make Irishmen shake hands with Irishmen.

Sir BOYLE ROCHE considered faction as the source of past, and the seeds of present dissension in this country, which nothing could effectually eradicate but an Union, which had his most cordial concurrence. Collisions on the score of independance had already happened, but how frequently between the Parliaments of the two kingdoms, since 1782, and particularly on the Regency business, when a parliamentary faction had *risked*, and he very believed *wished* the separation of the two kingdoms, by breaking the main link of the chain by which they were connected—namely, the unity and identity of the Executive Branch of the Constitution.

Mr. St. GEORGE DALY observed that this last sentiment of the Hon. Gentleman came from the Press, where he remembered to have seen it almost verbatim in the Hon. Gentleman's words.—He said insinuations had been thrown out against the motives of gentlemen on his side of the House; he despised them; one gentleman had said he just came from a meeting of the Bar, who voted thanks, and resolved to give precedence to a Right Hon. Gentleman who had been dismissed from office; that might have been proper, but the Hon. Gentleman went farther, and said they were ready to declare any man a traitor to his country who should accept the office. What arrogance could induce any gentleman to attribute this dishonourable and illiberal sentiment to the Irish Bar. He was convinced they were incapable of it—they knew that a man might accept the office without dishonour—and if they did not, he would despise them. This practice to attributing unworthy motives to gentlemen was not to be borne. The gentlemen on the other side of the House shall not do it; if they throw out such insinuations they must name the man—gentlemen should not be bullied! With respect to the question, he should only say he remained of the same mind in which he was yesterday, and so should remain till his understanding was convinced. It was base to be bribed—very base—but it was baser to make the charge, when it was known to be false.

Mr. PONSONBY rose to vindicate himself from what he conceived a personal attack by Mr. Daly; but the cry of spoke! spoke! from the other side was so loud that he could not proceed.



The SPEAKER interfered—and said, that if Mr. Ponsonby rose only to explain, he had a right to be heard—but if he meant to go beyond mere explanation, the House must give him leave.

The cry of spoke! continuing, Mr. TIGHE moved, that Mr. Ponsonby be permitted to speak a second time.

Lord CASTLEREAGH was for giving him leave to reply to a personal application, but insisted he could not go into a general answer without express permission.

Mr. C. OSBORNE opposed the motion for hearing Mr. Ponsonby—he said there were several gentlemen who had been up ten or twelve times and could not meet the eye of the Chair.—Mr. Ponsonby had already delivered his sentiments twice on this subject—and he did not wish to hear him any more.

The motion was carried almost unanimously.

Mr. PONSONBY said, that no man who had the feelings of a gentleman would refuse to do that which the House had now almost unanimously done, when a personal attack had called on a Member to rise. It was said that he arrogated to himself in saying, that the Bar of Ireland were ready to declare any man an enemy to his country who would accept the office lately filled by a Right Hon. Gentleman. This was the first time he had ever heard a gentleman make a private conversation the subject of a parliamentary attack. God forbid that he should arrogate to himself the right of speaking the sense of the Bar—he was a very humble member of that body, and was happy to follow their spirit. He claimed no honour but that of defending them against their calumniator. Whether he had said the Bar was ready to come to such a resolution as the Hon. Gentleman had mentioned he could not say—for he kept no register of his private conversations—but he was convinced he might say so with truth—and he appealed to many gentlemen who heard him and were present at that meeting, whether the general sense of the Bar did not appear to be so, and whether they were not restrained from doing so by the advice of one or two gentlemen, who thought it wise rather to confine them to the expression of their esteem and thanks to the Right Hon. Gentleman and others, for their conduct on this question. But the Hon. Gentleman says, that gentlemen are not to be bullied! I would have the Hon. Gentleman know, that neither shall any man on this side of the House be bullied—and though it be a word he was not much in the habit of using, he must say he felt the most perfect *contempt* for the threats of that Hon. Gentleman.

Mr. DALY replied, that the conversation to which he had alluded had not been addressed particularly to him, but had been addressed to a variety of gentlemen.

Sir J. BLAQUIERE had thought this question was at rest. What more could gentlemen want than the declaration made last night by the noble Lord, that he would not press the measure while he found the sense of the country against it. This attempt to keep the subject alive could arise only from desperate faction which wished to wear gentlemen out by debate. On the whole, he thought this was an unfortunate measure, as it gave new strength to faction, which but for it would not have again raised its head. He did not foresee, he confessed, that so many country gentlemen would have opposed the measure—so many indeed had gone over to that side, that one might think that the Hon. Gentleman at the other side had corrupted them, but that he was *incapable* of it—he meant, did not *know how* to corrupt.

Sir J. PARNEL said, that from the refusal of the noble Lord to declare that he would not again propose the measure, because if he did make such a promise, he could not bind the Parliament, he inferred that he would again press it when an occasion offered—and when the noble Lord talked of people deciding on what they did not understand, because they declared against an Union without knowing the terms, he used the language of a man himself ignorant of what was the true state of the question. Could any man be so silly as not to know what the question really was? It was simply this—whether the Parliament should vote to turn themselves out of doors. Were they ready to give up their constituents, and transfer the sacred trust reposed in them, because they did not understand the question.—Was any Hon. Gentleman so silly as not to understand it?—[Mr. Alexander said yes, he did not understand.]—[He was called to order by the Speaker.]—I put it then, said Sir John, to the broad sense of the House, whether they could mistake it?—Whether they did not know that it was, whether the Parliament of this country, and the independence of Ireland should be given up for ever? The noble Lord says, he cannot enter into any promise to prevent these great objects from being assailed. Who then could? The Parliament itself. The House might by a vote declare, that they would never surrender the Legislative Independence of Ireland, and yield it to the dominion of another. This vote would not indeed be law, but like the vote of Agitation, it would be a declaration of the sense of the House, which no Minister would attempt to controvert. It was degrading to the very name of Parliament to entertain the question whether they should put an end to their own existence. What was the object of this paragraph? It was to

bind the House to consider that question. Either declare that you will never entertain that question, or appoint now a day to discuss it, that the mind of the nation may be relieved from its anxiety, and the subject sent to immortal rest. The question was so momentous, that he believed the country might be lost if the House would thus enter into a public agreement to consider it, and did not immediately do so. He repeated it, that what the Secretary had said was no security against the proposal of the measure—and if he wished to keep himself free, the House, at least, should express their sense on it. Sir John then adverted to his own peculiar situation—declared he would in all minor points, submit his opinion to that of those with whom he acted, but this was a question of paramount importance, which endangered the quiet of the people and the safety of the State. He declared he had received great favours from the Crown, for which he would always be grateful—but he had eaten the bread of his country, and he would repay the debt! He disclaimed party, and as he had always avoided it, he would continue to do so, and remain only of the party of nine-tenths of the people of Ireland—of the party of his constituents, who had given him whatever consequence he possessed, and whose interests he would never forsake. It had been said the country is so impoverished it could not go on. He told the House that Ireland was yet equal to the weight of a ten year's war—could the Parliament, with the confidence of the country, be brought to vote the expences of it, as they had done with him, unanimously; but this could not be, if they did not shew themselves the guardians of the people.—He held that a country was able to go on while it could provide taxes to pay the interest of its loans. This country, he was confident, could do so—and without the guarantee of England could find money to borrow, if England would let her money market be open for us, as it was for the Dutch and other countries. He repeated that the country had abundant resources untouched, and that the Treasury was never so rich as at this moment. Great Britain, he allowed, had generously helped us to defend ourselves, and we should be grateful—but it was not true that we could not go on without her aid—we were as necessary to England, as England to us.

Mr. TRENCH (Woodlawn) followed Sir John Parnell. As I have been personally alluded to, and particularly by a Right Hon. Baronet who has just sat down, for whom I have, in common with this House, and indeed I may say for the whole nation, the highest respect; I think it necessary to say a few words, to vindicate the consistency of my conduct on the last night's debate.

I then declared my opinion, that the decision of this House, as to a Legislative Union, would be premature, until the sentiments of the people of Ireland were ascertained. Under that impression, I declared that I did not approve of either the original Address, or the Amendment; as the former tended to commit the House in favour of the measure, and the latter against it; but that I thought the Amendment the least objectionable of the two, as the question might be brought forward in some other form. From what occurred afterwards in the course of the debate, it appeared to me that the Amendment would put a final negative on the measure for this Session, before the opinion of the People could be sufficiently known; and as the Minister had declared, that the Address would not pledge the House to adopt the principle of a Union, I therefore said I should vote for the Address. My object was still the same, to keep the question open for discussion, though I certainly did change my mind as to the means of effecting that object. I have been accused, and by some, whose opinions I respect, of indecision; but, in my mind, decision ought to follow, not precede, discussion. Hasty decision is not always a proof of wisdom; and if ever there was a question, the transcendent magnitude of which would justify indecision, it is surely the present. I confess I have not that intuitive knowledge of a great and comprehensive subject, so complicated in its relations and arrangements, that other gentlemen may have; but of this I am sure, that even if the measure be intrinsically and abstractedly good, yet, if the People are against it, we have no right to force them to a compliance. Though the match may be an advantageous one to both parties; yet, if the inclinations of the lady are decidedly against it, I would not recommend even that gentle violence, which some suppose is agreeable to the fair.

The City of Dublin has declared its sentiments unequivocally; but though I highly respect this city, yet Dublin is not all Ireland, nor is Ireland the whole of the British Empire; and in the fate of the British empire is involved that of the civilized world. As Irishmen, our first duty is to consult the welfare of Ireland; but we are not to neglect that of Great Britain, in which we are so deeply interested, and whose generous assistance we have so lately experienced. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom have not yet declared their sentiments; and notwithstanding the outrages that have lately disgraced some of that persuasion, the great body of them are loyal subjects; and their opinion ought to have weight with the Legislature. If many of them have been concerned in the late rebellion, it was not because they were Roman Catholics, but because they were ignorant and uninformed, and therefore liable to be deluded by the misrepresentations of artful leaders. The Reports of the Secret



Committees of both Houses have proved this fact ; the great volume of events have proved it ; that volume so lately unfolded to our view, and which every day, nay every hour, continues to develope. In that book, the genius and tendency of French revolutionary principles, and the designs of their abettors in this land, are written in characters so broad and legible, that he that runs may read, they flash conviction on the most inattentive observer : obstinate and inveterate prejudice can alone mistake them. The late Rebellion was not a war of one sect of Christianity against another, but of Christianity against Infidelity, of Religion against Atheism, of the supporters of Civil Society against those, who wish for anarchy and confusion. The Roman Catholic religion has a predilection for monarchy ; perhaps even too strong for the genius of our free Constitution. When we consider that Roman Catholic loyalty survived the misconduct of the House of Stuart, even of the last pusillanimous Tyrant, that disgraced the regal sceptre of the British Islands ; a character certainly not formed to inspire that enthusiastic zeal, that glowing and disinterested attachment, that naturally warms the breast of a good subject in the cause of a brave, a virtuous, and a respected Monarch ; can we suppose that they are deficient in that vital principle, when they have transferred their allegiance to a family, in whom the most heroic bravery seems hereditary, to a Monarch, in whose person the virtues of the man reflect the purest lustre on the sacred character of the Sovereign. When lately our foreign enemies combined with domestic traitors, to rob us of the invaluable blessings of British connexion, many of the nobility and gentry of that persuasion stood forth among the foremost in the ranks of loyalty, and proved by deeds their attachment to their King and the Constitution. An honourable and learned Member has expatiated on national pride ; he has touched a string, to which all our feelings vibrate in unison ; and he has touched it with a masterly hand. For my part, I feel a pride, I hope an honest and a rational pride in being an Irishman ; but I confess no small part of that pride is derived from the connexion of Ireland with Great Britain. Whether that connexion may be best secured by an incorporating Union, or whether any other means may be devised more effectual, and more conducive to the welfare of Ireland, our first and great object, may require serious and impartial consideration ; but I do not hold myself pledged, from any thing I have said, either in this or a former debate, to support the measure of a Union :—I only wish for a full and fair discussion.

Col. FITZGERALD supported the paragraph, as did Mr. H. D. Grady.

Mr. FITZGERALD, late Prime Serjeant.—Having already expressed my opinion on this subject, I should not have intruded again upon your attention, if somewhat, which has fallen from the Noble Lord, did not appear to me to bear upon the enlightened and uninfluenced profession of which I am proud to be. I owe the Noble Lord all personal civility; and feel that I do him a kindness, giving him an opportunity to remove any misconception. I pause for a reply; (here Lord Castlereagh disclaimed any intention to say any thing disrespectful to the Bar.) The Noble Lord has answered my expectation; I did not think it possible, that the Minister of Lord Camden and of Lord Cornwallis could entertain an idea disparaging to that great body, which lead the Spirit of Ireland, to arm in its defence against foreign and domestic foes, as it did the Virtue and Talents of the nation to resist political invasion. And here give me leave to say, that that profession ever has, and ever will be, the most zealous guardian of the rights and liberties of their country. I will not travel back into remote history, but call your attention to the debt of gratitude which this country owes to that profession within our own recollection. What does it owe to that distinguished character, whose successor I unworthily was? —*sublatum ex oculis querimus invidi*; what do its Agriculture and Constitution owe to your illustrious Predecessor who first attempted to loosen the fetters by which your Legislature was bound; and taught the Parliament the secret of its own strength.

You, Sir, were of the profession, and abdicated it much to your own private loss; but with incalculable advantages to the commerce and liberties of your country—a country in whose gratitude, I trust, you will ever live. The services of that Profession are engraven in the marble of the Constitution, and will not be forgotten while the Irish Legislature exists; for vain and impotent must be every attempt to deprive them of the glory of being the first to enrol themselves for the protection of their country against foreign and domestic enemies, and for the continuance of the separate and independant Legislature of Ireland.

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH, in a speech of considerable length, of which we can give but an imperfect abstract, declared against expunging the paragraph which recommended Union; and avowed his opinion, that a Legislative Incorporation, provided the terms were just and equitable to this country, would be beneficial to Ireland, and to the Empire.

He should begin by noticing, while they were fresh in his memory, some arguments which had fallen from a Right Honourable Baronet, who sat opposite to him, (Sir John Parnel.) In answer to the fears of that Right Honourable Baronet, for the tranquillity of the metropolis, if an Union should be carried,

he would observe that he, for his part, felt little apprehension of this kind; and even though there should be some ground for such fears, yet he was ready to purchase the permanent tranquillity of the whole kingdom, at the expence of some temporary disturbance in the chief City. That Right Honourable Baronet treated Union as if it were a measure whose operation was to put a period to the existence of the Irish Constitution. He begged to observe, that this was mere and unwarrantable assumption; and to declare that he did not consider Union as producing any such effect. The Right Honourable Baronet asserted, that Union could bestow no commercial benefit, except the Channel Trade: He would reply, that if Union promoted internal harmony and peace, it would give that soil, from whence alone commercial greatness could arise; and therefore in securing our tranquillity, it must promote our trade. He applauded the Noble Lord for his promise of never losing sight of the measure; and advised him not to abandon his hope of one day, and ere long, opening the eyes of the country to the advantages which it would produce. He heard Union objected to, as leading to separation. But he would ask whence came it, that he found the enemies of British connexion so foremost in the ranks of opposition to an Union? Did they resist it, because it tended to dissolve that connexion which they abhorred?—Gentlemen talked of our willingness to stand or fall with England. This was the mere rant of a generous sentiment, which an angry feeling might easily supplant. He for his part would rather trust the firmness of the connexion to a permanent political principle, than to a transient rant of loyalty. If, however, we were thus prepared to stand or fall with England, what consolidation could be too intimate with a country with which we professed to have our interests so closely blended? He heard such contradictory objections founded on our situation, that he found it difficult to answer them. One resisted Union on the ground of our prosperity; another inveighed against the treachery of England, in choosing the moment of our calamity to propose this odious measure.—These Islands formed one Empire: how many Legislatures were sufficient for one Empire to contain? In his mind one was quite enough. Two independant Legislatures in one Empire, tended to produce dissensions, and weaken and tear asunder the energies of the whole State. Union then, by allotting one Parliament to one Empire, would fortify that Empire: so to fortify it would at any time be prudent in us, inasmuch as we made a part of that Empire, and as with England we must stand or fall. But was it not peculiarly incumbent on us to fortify the Empire now, when foreign foes and intestine dissensions demanded the utmost strength of resistance that we could op-

pose? But Ireland must sacrifice her independance!—No; she was only called on to incorporate her distinctness; she would still have her due share and weight in the Imperial Councils; a share proportioned to her extent, contribution, and resources. Could any man who heard our execrations of this plan conceive, that if executed, we should thereafter continue to live under the theory, and perhaps begin to live under the complete practice of the British Constitution?—To participate fully in the blessings of that free and admirable system, was to surrender our Liberties and subvert our Constitution!—Our present distinctness tended to separation: the Regency shewed this. Our independant Lords and Commons appointed a Regent before the British Parliament had named one: We appointed a Regent with unlimited powers, though we knew the English were appointing a Regency with restricted powers. Thus our distinctness in that instance snapped the principle asunder, which held the two islands imperially together. That principle was one Executive for both; a principle enacted in the reign of Henry the Eighth. If his Majesty's illness had continued, we should, *in consequence* of our distinctness, have had different Executives for Great Britain and Ireland. The rejecting of the Commercial Propositions was another fruit of our distinctness; they were rejected as clogged with conditions derogatory from our Constitutional Independance. This objection would have lain to an Arrangement, however palpably advantageous in a commercial view; and yet England, perhaps, could not, compatibly with her own security, make the concession without annexing the conditions. Thus our Constitutional Distinctness would stand insurmountably in the way of our national prosperity. Mr. Smith proceeded to shew, that had any of those schemes of radical Reform, which he had known proposed to Parliament, been adopted, we should have had thenceforth a Legislature differently constituted from that of Britain; and thus our distinctness would produce a manifest source of estrangement and separation. If the mischiefs which thus arose out of Distinctness of Legislation, were prevented by the ascendant influence of Britain, what would thus be but by corruption, and at the expence of morality and public spirit, to achieve that which might have originally been secured by allotting a single Legislature to a single Empire? Mr. Smith derided the idea of contrasting the numbers of Irish and English Members in the Imperial Parliament. This contrast flowed from the erroneous notion that, though our Legislatures were joined, our interests would remain distinct. As well might one Irish province complain that the number of its Representatives was outweighed by the Representatives of the other three. Mr. Smith went on to demonstrate the competence of Parliament to conclude an Union, on authority and principle. Parliament, he said, possessed *absq-*



*late* power; and cited Coke and Blackstone in support of this position. If the Irish Parliament was incompetent to enact Union, the Scottish Union was invalid; being the act of a not more competent Parliament. What ruinous doctrines might follow from such a doctrine? His Majesty's title to the Throne of Great Britain depended on the second article of the Scotch Union, which limited the Succession to the House of Hanover. Impeach the Union, and you recognise the Pretender's title to the Scottish Crown. If the Scotch Union was invalid, what became of those Acts which had since been passed in that illegal Assembly which was miscalled the *British* Parliament? What became, for instance, of the efficacy of that Act of Renunciation which formed the basis of Irish Independance?—To deny the competence of Parliament, was to assert the supremacy of the People; to insist that in certain conjunctures they were entitled to dictate to their Parliament; and, as this same People was to determine when this conjuncture had arisen, the doctrine would turn our mixed Government into an absolute Democracy.

He freely admitted that Parliament was incompetent to surrender the Liberties and Constitution of the country.

(At this part of his speech, Mr. Smith was interrupted by a loud cry of "hear"—from some Members that sat near him: when it had subsided, he proceeded thus;)

I stand on too firm ground, to be embarrassed by the insinuation, which is involved in the clamour, by which I have been interrupted.—I love the liberties of my country as well as any man that hears me: I am as ready as any other man to shed my blood in their defence. Parliament, I repeat it, is incompetent to their surrender: not because Legislative Authority is limited by the Constitution; but because freedom is one main end of that Constitution; and because to violate natural rights, is to justify revolt.—Let it be proved to me, that to promote our commercial prosperity,—to blend and harmonise a divided and discordant people,—to fortify that common Empire, whose security is our own,—to give Ireland a due and efficient weight in the Imperial Councils; and make her People participate fully in the British Constitution:—let it be shewn that this will be to surrender the Liberties of my Country, and I shall vote against the paragraph which recommends an Union.

Mr. EGAN, in answer to Mr. Smith, said, that Lord Somers, an English lawyer, had no more right to object to the Union, than a Lawyer who was called in to draw a conveyance had a right to examine into his client's title. The opinion of an Irish Lawyer, now forced to give his opinion, was, that the Scotch Parliament, unless specially empowered for that purpose by the people, had no right to enact an Union. The Irish Parliament

also was incompetent to such an act—and if he had had the misfortune to have voted for it, he would next morning either have committed suicide or withdrawn himself to some cavern, and hid his head the remainder of his days. Blackstone, Somers, and Coke, were all English Lawyers—and as to Blackstone, let him believe his doctrine on the competency of Parliament to enact an Union which surrenders the liberty of the country, who believes that other doctrine laid down by him that Ireland was dependant on Great Britain, and bound by the British Parliament. To that doctrine the Parliament of Great Britain had formally given the lie by the act of 1783, which he did not consider as a *grant*, but as a *recognition* of the independance of Ireland. And if Blackstone is convicted of such an error as this in the case of Ireland, who could wonder that he should decline telling the Highlanders that their country had been sold, and desiring them to come down and make war upon England? As to the danger of inculcating this incompetency of the Scotch Parliament, there was nothing in it.—The lapse of a century has given validity to the measure which has been acquiesced under as legal during that time. Having got shut of the law authorities proving the competency of Parliament, Mr. Egan went farther, and denied the right of the people themselves to bind their posterity—and put this argument in a strong point of view. He then went on to ridicule the pretended advantage of an Union—and stated ludicrously enough the blessing of having our island called West Britain—the tax-gatherer coming to levy our proportion of imposts for the imperial service, &c. &c.

Dr. BROWNE [College] also entered into a refutation of Mr. Smith's arguments. He said he had apprehended at first it would be necessary for him to express his dissent from the arguments the Learned Gentleman had advanced to prove the competency of Parliament to enact an Union—but he was agreeably surprised to find, in the close of the Hon. Gentleman's speech, that they both perfectly agreed in opinion, for at the long run it turned out that the Learned Gentleman was only endeavouring to prove that *so long as the Constitution lasted* the Parliament was competent to enact any measure, because when they violated any of the fundamental laws of nature, then *the Constitution was dissolved*, and the people were authorised to exercise this *inherent right* of resisting the wrong or tyranny. So that this argument to prove the *omnipotence* of Parliament conceded the point in dispute, namely, that they were *not competent* to do certain acts—because when they ventured on those acts their authority became forfeited, and the people were justified in exercising what the Hon. Gentleman called the rights of an oppressed and enslaved people. The Learned Gentleman attributed this doctrine of the limitation of

the legislative authority to Mr. Paine—but it was derived from a much higher source, it was the doctrine of that man to whom every gentleman in that House had been taught to look up in his earliest days for the principles of the Constitution—it was the doctrine of Mr. Locke who declared expressly, that there were cases in which the Legislature might exceed their authority—that in such case the Government was dissolved—and that one of those cases was, when they attempted to *transfer* into other hands the powers with which the people had entrusted them. It was said, the Legislature had a right to alter the Constitution in certain cases, and the limitation of the hereditary succession and the octennial bill were mentioned as instances—But was there no difference between *altering* a Constitution for the better, and *abolishing* it all together? Or did the Learned Gentleman mean to infer, that because the Legislature could modify certain power possessed—therefore they were authorised in transferring those powers for ever into other hands? Blackstone had been mentioned as an authority—but that writer would not admit the construction which had been put upon him. He says indeed that the Parliament can do every thing—but he says the reason why the law does not mention a limit to their authority, is because law can never suppose that which would be a dissolution of all law—that is, it will not suppose that a case can ever occur when the Legislature by exceeding its powers will justify the people in resorting to first principles. Authorities having been cited on this question, he would take the liberty of citing one also. Every gentleman knew the high character of that great lawyer Lord Hobart—that luminary of the law in the most express terms asserted, that the power of Parliament was limited. The case was one in which the city of London claimed under a custom of the city—they claimed also to be themselves the judges of that custom—that is to be *Party* and *Judge* in their own cause. This right of judging of the custom they claimed under a statute—but my Lord Hobart declared that if they could produce an hundred statutes giving them such a power, he would pay no regard to them—for it was contrary to one of the first principles of natural justice, that a party should be Judge in his own cause, and therefore any law conferring such a power was void. He expressed his concern that his Hon. Friend should entertain so odd a motion as that the independance of this country was its greatest curse—for to that most of his argument seemed manifestly to tend. Dr. Browne concluded by reasoning against letting this paragraph stand in the Address.

Mr. CORRY said, that he heartily joined in the general admiration of the speech of an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Smith) who had delivered so able an argument in support of the measure, and

had so ably defended the competency of Parliament to discuss it. Much expectation had been raised by the manner of the Hon. Gentleman who got up professing to answer that argument (Mr. Egan)—but the House would recollect how he had done so. The Hon. Gentleman mentioned the names of Lord Coke, Lord Somers, and Judge Blackstone, to whom the former argument referred for authorities. He observed of the first, that he was a Lawyer who wrote for the Empire, and so dismissed Lord Coke—of the second, the Hon. Gentleman said, that though it was true he was one of those who drew the articles of Union between England and Scotland, yet he could not be expected to object to the competency of the contracting parties, no more than a Lawyer employed to draw a settlement, could have the audacity to offer an opinion upon the titles of the contracting parties. The likeness stated by the Hon. Gentleman of Lord Somers to the conveyancer draughting in his office necessarily recalled the old assertion that the professional habits of Lawyers made them often unfit for great Statesmen, and it was to be feared the Hon. Gentleman brought himself into that predicament, unless he should first shew why he was to be completely exempt himself from a charge which at the same moment he brings against that able and exalted character, Lord Somers, whose opinion of the competency of Parliament to contract the Union, was never questioned, and by whose conduct it was established. He next proceeds to overthrow the authority of Blackstone by saying, that the same man held that Ireland was bound by the acts of the British Parliament—and offers as a refutation of that doctrine of Judge Blackstone, the Act of Renunciation. Blackstone stated the fact as it stood, as he found it on the face of the statute book, where it certainly never ought to have been found—but being there, he could state the fact no otherways than he did, before the repeal of the act 6. Geo. I.—Of that statute Ireland thought fit to demand the repeal by the act of renunciation—and that very demand of Ireland, and that statute of renunciation are the proof of Blackstone being well founded—wrote what was the case *de facto*—and he could have stated nothing against the then subsisting statute, unless he had thought fit to adopt the expressions of some of those Lawyers of the present day, who had said in that House that it would not be unconstitutional to resist the law of the land, though enacted under the authority of the three branches of the Legislature—an assertion which he thought, when he first heard it, nothing short of High Treason, and he remained of the same opinion. The Hon. Gentleman proceeded to say, the House shall hear the authority of Irish Lawyers, and begins by stating that he has himself been for 16 years at the head of his profession—but he did not recollect that any argument followed to shew the grounds on which that great authority founded itself on this



question. The Hon. Gentleman next refers to an Hon. Gentleman on the second bench, for whose opinion great respect was entertained, but Mr. Corry desired the House to recollect that the opinions of the Irish Bar upon this question were certainly not all on one side of the question, either in the House or out of it—first, the meeting of the Bar was not unanimous—and though the minority there was certainly outnumbered in a very great proportion, yet it was to be considered how great a number of the juvenile, warm, and inexperienced part of the profession that majority contained—and it must also be acknowledged that the minority who were at the meeting with the accession of other names and characters who support, and maintain their opinions, though not at the meeting, is of as much respect as that of any other set of men whatever—of which the argument lately delivered by an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Smith) was one shining proof. Other proofs were to be seen in the speeches and characters of other Lawyers on this side of the House likewise—but if Irish authorities are referred to, let the people of Ireland look to the authorities which have been lately exhibited in another place not far distant—he meant the authorities of the first Law Lord—of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas—of the Chief Baron of the Exchequer—the Lord Chancellor, whose sound and fundamental knowledge he had not heard arraigned, supported the question against the Hon. Gentleman—the Chief Justice, Lord Carleton, whose able and dispassionate opinions were universally respected, supported the question against him,—the Chief Baron, Lord Yelverton, that great constitutional authority—one of the fathers of the independancy and liberties of Ireland, supported the question against him. Would the Hon. Gentleman charge that name for which he has so often expressed his veneration, as acting upon the principles of a conveyancer, and betraying that Constitution and those Liberties which he had so ably assisted to establish—let the people of Ireland look to those authorities with whom they are better acquainted than with the venerable names of Coke, Somers, Blackstone—they know them sufficiently to pronounce between them and the authority of the Hon. Gentleman, whether or not the Parliament are proceeding to destroy the independance, and sacrifice the constitutional liberties of Ireland.

Much has been said of the Constitution of 1782 ; and it was asserted, that the measures now proposed went to sacrifice what had then been gained—but see what the question of 1782 was :—Great Britain at that time exercised a power to legislate for Ireland, paramount to her own Legislature, which exercise Ireland resisted, upon the constitutional principle of not being bound by the authority of any body of men whatever, extrinsic of her own Legislature, in which Legislature alone the people of Ireland were represented. They took ground upon this principle,

namely, that Representation and Legislation were inseparably connected by the Constitution; and that Ireland, not being represented in, they could not be bound by, the British Legislature. The question was the same as that of America, where resistance had been made against Legislation without Representation. Founded in that principle irrefragably, Ireland succeeded in her claims to be free from any authority of the Parliament of Great Britain, in which she had no share, and no representation; and the Act of Renunciation, giving up all claim of that kind in the Parliament of Great Britain, was passed there, and our Independancy finally established.

But in 1785, the Commercial Propositions again set up an indirect invasion of the Independancy so established by a proposed compact, that Ireland should, on commercial subjects, pass laws similar to those which might be passed in Great Britain. This came to the same effect, as if Ireland was to be legislated for by the Parliament of Great Britain, in which she had no share and was not represented, and such a compact was accordingly resisted; and the Constitution of 1782, founded on the inseparable connexion between Representation and Legislation was maintained and established. Gentlemen then, who assert that the present measures are a surrender of the principles of 1782, must shew that they go to establish that Ireland shall again be bound by a Parliament, wherein she shall have no share, and not be represented. Now, the reverse is distinctly the fact; for the present measures have for their object, not that Ireland should be bound by the British Legislature without having share, and being represented in that Legislature; but that the British Legislature and that of Ireland should be united together into one body, in which Ireland should have her due proportionate share, and fair and constitutional representation; so that the Legislatures of the three kingdoms should be melted into one mass, that their triple powers should be reduced to unity on fair and just terms; and that they should form one great constitutional Representative Legislature for the Empire; and therefore those who support that measure, are acting in perfect consistency with the principles established in 1782, and supported and maintained in 1785.

But the House will recollect, that an Honourable Baronet at the same time that he incorrectly stated that this measure was inconsistent with the principles of 1782, proceeded to another topic, equally calculated to enflame the public mind. He stated the entire catalogue of the Prerogatives of the Crown, namely, the powers of war and peace, the church, the army, &c. and followed the catalogue by an assertion, that these were concessions from this country to Great Britain; an assertion equally un-

founded as the former, but equally calculated to enflame and to mislead the people of Ireland. Mr. Corry here went into a reply to Sir Laurence Parsons's speech. Mr. Corry said, he would only add one word on the effect of the amendment which was intended to preclude an answer to that part of the Speech from the Throne. The writ for returning the Commons to Parliament, directs that they should be returned to consult *de arduis Regni*. The Houses being met, the session opens by a speech from the Throne, certifying both Houses of the causes and consideration of summoning the Parliament, without which opening by a speech, neither House can proceed to any business whatsoever, of which the intricacies, at the time of the Regency question, give one instance. If in reply to that speech, either House of Parliament shall proceed to answer and to declare, that they will not at any time enter into consideration of a certain subject, it becomes an indecent and unconstitutional violation of the rights of the other two branches of the Legislature—of the Crown, which has the constitutional right to suggest, and of the Lords, who have the constitutional right to discuss, and transmit their deliberations and resolutions for the concurrence of the Commons. Let the Commons make the case their own; for instance, on the subject of Union, it was said in some of the Pamphlets, that it was to be accompanied by an arrangement of Tithes. Suppose the Bench of Bishops had risen in another House of Parliament, and resolved that they would at no time take into consideration the subject of Tithes, would it not be placing the Resolution of the Lords as a barrier against the rights of the Commons to discuss that subject, and to send up their Resolutions to the other House; and would it not in effect be to set up, as in the arrogant vote of Agistment mentioned by a Right Hon. Baronet (Sir John Parnell) the Resolution of one House of Parliament in a usurped authority, equal to a restrictive and prohibitory law of the three branches of the Legislature? Mr. Corry concluded with asserting, that the measures proposed to be hereafter considered, were those which alone could be effectual, accompanied by the approbation of Parliament and of the Country—and to restore tranquillity and permanent prosperity to Ireland.

Col. VEREKER was against the Paragraph; and repelled with great spirit the charge of being dupes, which, he said, was made by Lord Castlereagh on the country gentlemen.

Lord CASTLEREAGH explained. He had only recommended it to them to consider before they suffered themselves to be duped by a faction.

Sir JOHN FREKE.—I opposed the Address, and supported the Amendment of my honourable Friend. I will now oppose this Paragraph ; as I will, on every occasion, any attempt to wrest from this Country its rights and independance.

Mr. ARTHUR MOORE.—I had flattered myself with the hope, Mr. Speaker, that the disapprobation of this measure, which was yesterday so unequivocally manifested by so respectable and independant a part of this House, would have led on this day to a distinct abandonment of a project, so wild and visionary in its nature, so repugnant to the sense and feelings of this Nation, and so critically dangerous to the permanent interests and lasting consolidation of the British Empire. But how have I been disappointed at hearing the intemperate and peevish declamation of the Noble Lord ; in which, while he arraigns the motives of gentlemen in this House, and seems regardless of the sense of the Country, he perseveres with the most incorrigible pertinacity, and the most insulting perversity, in despite of yesterday's defeat or this day's reproaches ; without regard either to experience or discretion, again to fight this unequal state-battle in the same field, where the independance and virtue and talent of the Nation had so recently obtained such a signal triumph over the corrupt and insidious policy of those who, under the plausible pretext of national security and imperial consolidation of interest, had aimed the most mortal blow at the prosperity, happiness, and liberties of Ireland. But gentlemen who object to this clause standing part of the Address, are accused of wantonly provoking this second debate, on the subject of the Union, after the explicit declaration of the Noble Lord yesterday, viz. *that he would pay every respect to the sentiments of so respectable a minority, though he never would lose sight of the object*. This, it seems, was to be the pledge of our security—the guarantee of our existence as an independant Legislature—the tenure of our Constitution—and how has the Noble Lord kept his word ; how has he shewn *his respect for the sentiments of so respectable a minority* ? by bestowing upon them the most intemperate and indiscriminate abuse ! by the imputation of the most mischievous motives—the most dangerous principles—the most unjustifiable means—and by an imitation of that indecent stile of invective and low scurrility, which so eminently characterises the wretched oratory of some, for the rashness of whose political enterprises, and the vulgarity of whose thoughts and sentiments I never wish to see him forego the natural discretion of his own mind, and the acquired urbanity of his educated habits. I must, however admit, Sir, that if the Noble Lord has failed in his promised respect for the sentiments of his opponents on this subject, he has been true to the latter part of his declaration, namely, *that he would never lose sight of*



*the object*; and indeed the strenuous efforts that have been this night made to retain the Paragraph objected to, as part of the Address, most evidently shew, that we are to expect neither rest nor recreation; cessation from labour, or intermission of discussion, until this House shall have compelled the Noble Lord either unequivocally to abandon the measure, or to cease to be the Minister, under whose auspices it shall again be brought forward. And therefore, Sir, let it not be said, that gentlemen on this side of the House are a second time agitating the Country by a second discussion of this momentous subject; we wished never to have heard of it again; we hoped we should not—and if the Country is agitated, and the question a second time discussed, the Minister is answerable for the consequences; who, with the most obstinate insistence perseveres in retaining that Paragraph, which, according to his own explanation of its enigmatical language, contains an implied approbation of the principle of an Union of our Legislature with that of Great Britain. Another charge made this night against those who oppose this ruinous project is, that we have used warm and passionate language, calculated to inflame and prejudice the public mind, upon a subject which ought to be temperately discussed and calmly investigated. I appeal to the House, whether there has been any warmth or violence of language, or manner manifested on this side of the House, in any degree proportionate to the wild and headlong declamation, in which the Noble Lord has this night exhibited the intemperance of puerile indiscretion, and the disappointment of ministerial ambition. But how is it possible to speak upon such a subject without warmth and feeling? How is it possible to reflect on the means that have been used to steal this measure upon us through all the secret windings of ministerial treachery and perfidious policy, without rage and indignation? How is it possible to be cool and dispassionate when the dearest interests of a Nation—the most important concerns of an Empire—the most prized and valued privileges of human nature—the liberty, happiness, and prosperity of millions of men, are put to the issue of a measure, introduced in language metaphorically obscure and studiously insidious, supported by men of consummate imbecillity and pre-eminent public profligacy, and brought forward on the heels of invasion and rebellion;—before the social order and regular subordination of society have been restored—and before the rancorous contentions, the bitter animosities of men, and the unexampled calamities of the Country (tho' fast subsiding) have yet altogether given way to returning confidence and coincidence of opinion—to the sentiment of national unanimity, and to the blessing of re-established tranquillity? For my part, Mr, Speaker, I must candidly declare, that considering every circumstance of men and things—of manner and occasion—of pretext and design

—of arrangement and execution—I am so horror-struck with this wicked invasion of the independance of this land, that I am not only incapable of using any other than warm and passionate language; but I confess myself to be at this moment little short of pirenfy. I am frantic when I consider the duplicity and craft to which this nation has been made the sacrifice; the double dealing and insidiousness by which her distractions have been made the pretext for the surrender of her liberties; and the audacity and wickedness by which that Constitution, so recently asserted by Ireland and recognised by England has in the moment of national weakness and calamity been attempted to be undermined and overthrown. Oh! unhappy country! how successfully have thine enemies taken advantage of thy dissensions? With what a careful and judicious hand have they sown the seeds of thy destruction? The errors; the delusions; the crimes of *some* of thy people, have been the pretext for an attack upon the liberties of *all*! Had you never been divided, the surrender of your national pride, and independance had never been demanded! *Unite now, not in the hollow embrace of iniquitous republican fraternisation, but in the loyal irresistible Union of a brave and free people resolved to preserve their invaluable Constitution against all innovation or to perish with it! Unite thus, and there is no array of power or policy which can be brought to assail your liberties but must vanish and sink to nothing before the tremendous unanimity of an undivided people!*

Sir, I have often heard it argued with great success, and I think with excellent reason, that the season of war is of all others the most improper for the experiment of constitutional improvement or innovation. If a Reform in the Representation of the People in Parliament (for which I do not profess myself an advocate at this day) were proposed, it has uniformly been opposed upon the ground of the *time* being unseasonable for innovation and experiment. If a motion be made for a Reform of the Scotch Boroughs, or the system of government for India, it is resisted by the argument that under the existing circumstances of the country, it is dangerous to agitate the public mind by topics which have a direct tendency to alter or even regenerate our establishments—and yet here is a question not of innovation but subversion; not of alteration but extinction; not of regeneration but of death—a question, not to improve or ameliorate, but to destroy and annihilate the popular part of the Constitution of Ireland, brought forward at a period of external war and domestic troubles, under the auspices of that same Minister who has so repeatedly and so justly opposed the arguments of *time* and *circumstances*, to projects so infinitely inferior in dignity and importance to the measure now under the contemplation of this House. Sir, I have very little doubt that a proposition to dissolve and overthrow the Popular branch of our Constitution would be little if at all short of

Treason, but undoubtedly would be an overt act of High Treason, inasmuch as it might lead by direct consequence to a compassing the King's death, and it is worthy of observation that the principal overt-acts in the indictments against Hardy, Tooke and the rest, were for *conspiring to alter and overturn the Legislature, Rule and Government now happily and duly established in these kingdoms, and for writing and dispersing and causing to be written and dispersed papers pamphlets and so forth, tending to subvert and alter the Legislature, Rule and Government of these kingdoms.* When therefore a Right Hon. Gentleman talks of Treason to loyal men, he ought to recollect the precedent of those indictments, and that there is a nearer connexion with Treason, between the conduct of persons who would propose *the alteration and subversion of our Legislature, and circulate wicked and pernicious writings* for that purpose, than any which can be traced to the opinions and conduct of such as boldly contend for the integrity and inviolability of the Constitution. It has been argued with great labour and subtilty that Parliament has at present, without the previous assent of the Nation, full and entire competence to enter into an incorporate Union with the Legislature of Great Britain, and to support them in this principle, Gentlemen resort to the opinions of Lord Coke and Judge Blackstone, who both say that the power and jurisdiction of Parliament is transcendant, absolute, omnipotent, and so I admit it is, *in the exercise of its constitutional functions*, so long (as Blackstone says) *as the Constitution lasts the power of Parliament is absolute and without controul*, or in other words, so long as it acts within the sphere of the Constitution, it is omnipotent—it is omnipotent in legislation, and in the exercise of all the powers and energies of the state, *but it is only a Trustee for the Constitution, whose power is sovereign, paramount and super-ruling, it is omnipotent to preserve, not to destroy the sovereign power of the state*, it is omnipotent in the dispensation of Government, but cannot annihilate it, or any branch of it. The Legislature therefore when it is called despotic, is, I conceive, only *sub modo*, it is despotic to all intents and purposes as long as it acts according to the rules and principles of the Constitution, whose organ it is, but it is restrained and limited from the commission of any act which may alter or abrogate, injure or destroy, that Constitution or any of its constituent members. And I would again refer the House to the authority of Mr. Burke, in his reflections on the French Revolution, page 28 for illustration of this subject, when he says “the House of Lords is not competent to dissolve itself nor “to abdicate, if it would, its proportion in the Legislature “of the kingdom.” The King cannot abdicate for the Monarchy, though he may for his own Person; by as strong, or by a “stronger reason the House of Commons cannot renounce its share “of authority, &c.” It is indeed curious to observe, Mr.

Speaker, the course of the debate upon this part of the question, the Noble Lords sets out with a Philippic against the legal part of the House, and seems to despise altogether the opinions of the gentlemen of the long robe upon this subject, and yet it is easy to observe that his main reliance this night is on certain Lawyers, who seem very full of the subject and who I sincerely hope have been *refreshed* since the last debate, and yet some of those Learned Leaders whom one would expect to see in the front of the battle seem to have left their ground; I presume having fired their platoon on the last night they have retired to the rear to prime and load, or to rally the broken and confused ranks already panic-struck with the prospect of a second and more inglorious defeat. The Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Corry) who was a Lawyer, but is now a Minister, takes a different course from the Noble Lord (who holds the opinions of Lawyers except they be on his own side in the most sovereign contempt) and preferring the habits of his former profession to those of his present station, he comes forward with a new set of authorities (three of the Law Lords of our own country) and to make amends for the absence or silence of those specifiers of professional inanity, the law officers, he argues the question upon what he calls legal grounds. But I confess, Sir, with all my attention awake to the speech of the Right Hon. Gentleman, I have not been able to catch a single argument or principle upon which my mind can dwell an instant, but if assertion and Dictum be substitutes for reasoning and authority, if an uninterrupted continuity of speech without the impediment of legal principle, or constitutional inference be calculated to convince and persuade, the Right Hon. Gentleman whether he is to be considered as a Lawyer or a Politician, or as that hermaphrodite kind of character which consists in being half one and half the other, has undoubtedly a claim to the highest praise for the manner in which he has discussed the subject. The Right Hon. Gentleman has relied chiefly on the opinions of three noble Lords now at the head of three of our Courts of Justice, he has merely told us their opinions, but has not informed us upon what authorities they were founded. I own I am not one who, feeling myself to be a Trustee for the popular branch of the Constitution, am much disposed to be directed in the discharge of my duty as a Legislator by the Dicta of judicial authorities however great and respectable—with respect to one of those personages I am free to admit every weight to be due to the opinion of a man, who when a Member of the House of Commons, was one of the most distinguished advocates for the independance of Parliament and the freedom of his country—with respect to the other two, I am willing to subscribe to the integrity and ability of one in a Court of Equity—and to the great and acknowledged qualifications of the other in a Court of Common Law, but I never heard that



either of the Noble Lords was ancillary to the emancipation of this country, or that they had any share (save that which every Member of Parliament is virtually supposed to have in restoring the Constitutional independance of Ireland.) But the Right Hon. Gentleman might have quoted the opinion of a Law Lord of undisputed authority upon such a subject as this, whose shade (as was finely expressed by my Hon. and Learned Friend) has as it were risen from the tomb to vindicate the invaded liberties of his country. Is his opinion equal to any of those which have been mentioned? Or to which of them is it inferior? so far for authorities. There was a point which the Right Hon. Gentleman pressed and dwelt upon in his speech, which I do not think he managed with his usual candour and delicacy. My Right Hon. Friend (Sir John Parnell) in mentioning the respect which was due and paid to the sense of the House of Commons instanced by way of illustration the resolution with regard to agistment which has for many years been observed as a quasi law of the land—but the Right Hon. Gentleman fired as it were with indignation at a principle so unconstitutional, exclaims with great vehemence, what! Shall a resolution of one House of Parliament be called the law of the land? What if the House of Lords should resolve, for instance, that they would not at any time take the subject of tithes into consideration, would that resolution stand as a barrier in the way of the Commons to discuss the subject? No truly, nor did my Right Hon. Friend say that the resolution respecting agistment, or any other resolution of one House of Parliament could constitute the law of the land, but that such a resolution while it remained unrevoked would be always attended with a certain degree of respect as well by the Nation as by the Ministers of the Crown. The Right Hon. Gentleman is also of opinion that this measure is within the omnipotence of Parliament without *special authority* from their constituents, if then (to admit all that has been urged on that head for argument's sake) Parliament be so transcendantly powerful, can I urge a better reason to this House for refusing to agree to an Union? The way in which gentlemen argue is this; they make Parliament the most despotic power upon earth, and then they call upon you to surrender the exercise of its authority into the hands of another Legislature. If Parliament be absolute and omnipotent as 'tis said, I should think that common sense and true wisdom dictate to every man, *that it is better be the despot than the slave*; and therefore, though it be possible that Parliament may abuse its powers, it is not to be apprehended that the Nation will ever sink into absolute and irretrievable bondage while the Legislature remains resident, distinct and independant. The Noble Lord has honoured the Gentlemen at this side of the House with the appellation of a cabal, will he allow me to remind him of the manner in which the

word cabal originated, the initials of the names of the five persons who composed the famous Ministry known by that name in the reign of Charles II. made up the composition of the word. I believe if there be a cabal in this country it is not at this side of the House. I could find five names I think, but their initials are all consonants (and the same consonant too) and there is unluckily no vowel to harmonise them into a word, these five names I conceive to be the cabal of this country, in which he who ought to be the greatest seems to me to be the least, perhaps too the Members of this cabal are little inferior to the original in the mischief of their councils and the pernicious folly of their projects, what was the fate of that vile conspiracy against the Crown and the Nation? It is impossible not to repeat the lines of the Poet so descriptive of the fallen greatness of the mighty Buckingham :

“ The George and garter dangling from the bed

“ Where filthy yellow vies with dirty red,

“ Great Villiers lies.”

Most of the rest after having outlived their fortunes, their characters, and their power, the scoff and scorn of mankind (an awful example of the mutability of human greatness!) at length sunk into the grave, where, though earth, dust, and ashes may cover and conceal the dead, there is yet no concealment or oblivion for their infamies, their iniquities, and their crimes.—Sir, amongst other topics of abuse (in which the calumny thrown on the Bar is a principal feature) the Parliament itself has not upon this night escaped traduction, and it is singular to observe, that the very persons at whose suggestion and in prosecution of whose councils the Parliament of Ireland has, for many years past, taken all its measures, are now the first to charge it with corruption, with faction, and with utter incapacity to provide for the internal security of the country, or to prevent the return of those calamities with which we have so recently been afflicted.—Will the House endure this?—Will the spirit of Parliament submit to the degradation of acknowledging its own disgrace by justifying its own dissolution?—Will the House of Commons bear to be told that in order to be efficient they must be diminished—to be virtuous they must be insignificant—to be independant they must be annihilated?—The illustrious Camden never instructed the Noble Lord to entertain such opinions:—He was the guardian-genius of Irish Independance, and the proud vindicator of our liberties.—Could he, from the grave, “ behold the dwellers upon earth,” and hear the speech of the Noble Lord this night, he would reprobate the degenerate sentiments it contained, and proudly indignant to find his sound principles forgotten, and his precepts neglected in that ungrateful soil where he had cultivated them with so much care, he would assert the insulted honor

and invaded independance of the Parliament, and would vindicate the character of that calumniated Profession by means of which he had honourably risen from obscurity to eminence, and which had in no small degree contributed through the medium of such a patron, to elevate the family of the Noble Lord himself from respectable independance to exalted distinction. Sir, a Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Corry) with what prudence it is not for me to say, has illustrated his argument by an allusion to the grounds of that unhappy contest which separated the American colonies from the mother country, and he tells you very truly, that the attempt by the British Parliament to legislate for America without the latter being represented in that assembly, was the original cause of that quarrel. But I would tell the Right Hon. Gentleman that, however the grounds of contest stood at first, in the course of the war *a portion of representation in the English Parliament* was offered to America, which the latter rejected—why? because she saw the utter incompatibility of incorporate legislation with independance—because she saw the inadequacy of a representation where distinct interests were to be guarded by a disproportionate body of representatives,—because she saw that she would not be better protected from the scourge of unjust taxation by having *a few* members in the English Senate than when she had *not any*, and therefore I say, that if the American struggle is any parallel to our case, it is this, that that war was begun or at least continued on the part of America, for the obtainment of that which we now possess, but which we are called upon to surrender, namely legislation, not by incorporation of representation, but by distinct independant Legislatures.—But, Sir, the most striking similitude between the American transactions and the concerns of our own country, appears to me to consist in the identity of *object and design against both*. I think it is impossible not to see that in this project the end and ultimate pursuit is *Taxation*, in which respect there is no demonstration plainer, than that Ireland would be at the mercy of the British Parliament and Minister to all intents and purposes whatsoever;—and after all, Sir, I do not know that there is any appendage of legislation so important and interesting to a nation as the imposition of taxes. But there are gentlemen who argue, that, by our having a certain number of representatives in the British Parliament, we must be considered as *consenting* to our own taxation.—I am certain there will be a number (for alas! I fear there will be but few amongst them who have ever seen our country) who will *consent* to our being taxed to any amount, but supposing the best that can happen—supposing them all to *dissent*, can the unanimous voice of the whole one hundred, secure this country from any tax which the British representatives shall think proper to impose upon it. Where then is the difference in point

of *practical benefit* between a representation *which has not in the nature of things the power of doing us any service, and no representation at all*,—though there is great difference in point of *practical injury*, for I think it could upon various considerations be shewn, that the latter would be infinitely preferable:—But then Sir, it is said, if our proportion of members in the Legislature will not secure us against British taxation, the terms of the treaty may do so.—I like not treaties between the great and the humble—the strong and the weak—the Giant and the Dwarf—the ties of plighted faith are but a feeble barrier against the aggressions of conscious power.—The recognition of our Independance in 1783 did not prove to be a security against the demand of its abdication in 1785, and of its surrender in 1779.—I could instance Scotland, but the notorious violations of that treaty of Union are in every pamphlet and in the mouths of every man who speaks upon the subject; but there is one breach which I cannot pass over. By the Act of Union Scotland was to be assessed to 48,000*l.* when England should pay 2,00,000*l.* or 4*s.* in the Pound to the Land Tax;—but see the Minister's budget this very year, and you will find Scotland rated at 5000*l.* for the tenth of the incomes of estates over and above the 48,000*l.* which she already pays according to the articles of the Union; so that by the Income Bill, the landed gentlemen of Scotland are now to pay a tenth of the receipts of their estates over and above the stipulated proportion between the countries at the time of the Union.—Are the gentlemen of Ireland prepared for these things?—Are they prepared to give up a tenth of their income to the English Ministers (perhaps more) however well they are disposed to the English nation?—Sir, I must confess I am not a little surpris'd to see the Minister of England pursuing the same system with regard to this country, by the reprobation of which, with regard to America, he first rais'd himself into notice, and afterwards into power—the system of *taxation when directly* exercised upon America was, in his opinion, a system of *tyranny*, but when *indirectly* attempted against Ireland, is a system of *kindness and concession*—in England it was not easy to find new resources—the luxury and industry of the country are exhausted—the necessaries of life can produce no more—capital and income have been resorted to—what remains?—Ireland! yes!—the generous hospitality—the social harmony of the Irish Nation must prepare for the *tax-gatherer and the task-master*—the “proud submission, the dignified obedience” of our national character must submit to the yoke,—we shall become hewers of wood and drawers of water—we shall have the rival plunderers of the East and West quartered upon our country, and after having drained the last drop of African blood, and exhausted the wealth and tears of Hindostan, they will be sent to this devoted island to



gratify their insatiable cupidity, by the spoil of our nobility—the plunder of our gentry, and the oppression of our people—we shall then indeed be what Lord North said America should be “prostrate at the feet of England”.—But, Mr. Speaker, if Ireland does fall, depend upon it, (to use the words of the venerable Lord Chatham) “she will fall like the strong man, she will embrace the pillars of the State, and pull down the Empire with her.”—Sir, upon this occasion I do not think it necessary, or indeed regular, to go into those topics which may be supposed to belong to the detail and developement of the measure; I am indeed in hopes that it will never be detailed or developed; but there is one consideration which properly belongs to that period of the subject which has been plausibly represented and forcibly urged—I mean the probability of the transfer of English capital to this country—but for my part I cannot conceive how we are to expect British capital to come amongst us after we have lost the protection of a resident Parliament—after the most considerable of our gentry have become absentees—and after we have subjected ourselves to British taxation—when the market for genius and talent is transferred to another country—when the arts of polished and civilised life, those main incentives to ingenuity and labour are gone—and when the lethargy of indolence, and the sloth of sullen discontent shall have enervated the arm of industry and degraded and debased our people.—Did British capital approach our island in any considerable degree when our taxes were low, our trade flourishing, and our country at peace? and is it to be expected that it will all at once pour in upon us in consequence of a measure which will obviously encrease our taxes, certainly not improve our trade, and instead of contributing to our tranquillity will, I think extend the causes and enlarge the circle of public disquietude and national discontent? in every point of view, therefore, Sir, in which I have been able to contemplate this measure, I consider it as pregnant with the most alarming mischiefs both to this country and Great-Britain—I look upon it as the nursery of new misfortunes, and the grave of our antient liberties—and instead of its tending to strengthen and consolidate the general interests of the Empire, or to restore and confirm the internal tranquillity of this country, I am thoroughly persuaded that the ingenuity or wickedness of man never yet devised a scheme so effectually adequate to bring about the Separation of the two kingdoms (the most disastrous of all consequences!) and so likely to renew in this scarce-tranquillised country, the calamities of civil war and the horrors of suppressed Rebellion.

Mr. TIGHE.—Sir, I could wish rather to shorten, than to lengthen this debate, by bringing back the real question to the consideration of the House. The question seems to be simply

this : Administration have abandoned this object, which they had the imprudence and the misfortune to agitate ; some of their most disinterested supporters have declared to-night, in a manner the most honourable to themselves, that they will no longer support the measure of an Union ; since they are now convinced that it is perfectly contrary to the general wish of the nation. The question is therefore, whether you will, or whether you will not, take the readiest and most effectual means of satisfying the nation that it is abandoned ? The readiest and most effectual means of doing so, is by omitting that paragraph of the Address which is now before the House. I know with thorough conviction, that the Noble Secretary had the best intentions in bringing the subject forward ; I am willing to attribute the very best intentions to those who have supported him ; and it is for that reason that I should expect from them a concurrence in giving general satisfaction to the kingdom. Confident I am, that as long as there is the slightest open left, for the question being revived, it will hang like a disastrous meteor over the peace of the nation. Will you, by voting this Paragraph, pledge yourselves to consider that subject, which you are determined not to consider ? By doing so, you must either deceive the King, or deceive the People ;—or will you at once, by rejecting this Paragraph, act with honesty to the King, and with satisfaction to the People ?

Or are the Ministry not yet convinced, by what they have seen, and by what they have heard, that tranquillity would not be the result of their measure ! Are the People of Ireland not convinced, that they could gain no commercial advantages by an Union ? but even, if it were in the power of Great Britain, to give us commercial advantages ; if it was in her power to give us all the commerce of the British Empire, Ireland would reject the wealth of the whole world, when set against her Independence ; that she considers as a jewel of inestimable price ; which, if she possessed it not, she would part with her all to obtain : but since she is possessed of it, she will not suffer the wealth or the power of the world to take it from her.—Tranquillity and Commercial advantages are held out as the price of our Constitution ; permit me to say a few words to them.

I know but two ways of tranquillising a nation ; either by giving satisfaction to the People, or by restraining them by military power :—what part of the People would an Union satisfy ?—the Catholics ?—No ; it would place an eternal bar to the accomplishment of their wishes, and render them desperate of success ; it is in an Irish Parliament that the cause of the Catholics has prevailed ; will they look up for relief to a British Parliament, who still hold their own Catholics in depression ; whose numbers, whose claims and peaceable disposition have afforded them no pre-

tence? Will an Union satisfy the Presbyterians? by bringing them within the focus of British test-laws? Can they expect to remain in a state more favoured than the Dissenters of England? Will an Union satisfy the Friends of Reform? what, by annihilating that Parliament, which they wish to meliorate? I see no body of men, whom an Union could satisfy; tranquillity then could only be obtained by military force; Ireland would have a mere military government, and be the barrack of the Empire; with no Parliament to restrain, even by the force of opinion, the conduct of the Chief Governor, or his dependants, "*this distant and petty province*," as Mr. Gibbon styles it, would be at his mercy; in power he would be a military Proconsul, or a Governor of Bengal; and it would depend on his disposition only, to become a Verres or a Hastings.

Would commercial advantages result from such a species of Government? I cannot help admiring the generosity of Britain, that now offers us, in return for the power of unlimited taxation, the long promised Equalisation of Duties, the only pretended commercial advantage she can offer, when, by the annihilation of our Parliament, we should be unable to protect that advantage:—when the British merchants could play against us unrestrained the whole force of their capital, credit, and industry. Who knows not, that the British merchants hold the Sceptre of Legislation in the British Parliament? Can the British Minister, all-powerful as he boasts himself, abolish the Slave Trade? have they not compelled the British Parliament to break its faith, even when pledged to vindicate the Rights of Humanity? when did the British merchants cease to turn the power of their Legislature against Ireland? what has been their conduct during the last enlightened century, from the time they compelled King William to destroy your woollen manufacture, till the time they disfigured your Propositions? I am confident, that when the Corporation of Cork shall reflect again upon the subject, they will be sensible that they would rather be injured than benefited by an Union: Cork, in return for her provisions, imports into Ireland chiefly the luxuries of life; the wines and commodities of the South of Europe; when an Union shall have banished her principal inhabitants and landed proprietors, to whom will she sell her luxuries? Spain and Portugal will not take her provisions, but in return for their commodities of luxury; and so far the trade of Cork must decline.

But English capital is to flow into Ireland; when we obtained real commercial advantages, when we obtained the West India trade, no English capital flowed into Ireland; Ireland was then in a state of peace and of rising prosperity: here we have certain experience against fallacious speculation.—Is it, at this time, in this state of the country, that the plodding merchant of Britain

shall set his firm afloat, and sail over to Ireland on his bags of gold, with a pen in one hand and a sword in the other, to have the honour of joining a corps of our city yeomanry? At any time, what is more injurious to a mercantile house, than the change of situation? the merchant who would not change the profitable atmosphere of Threadneedle-street for the airy elegance of Portman-square, would now exchange the security and protection of England, for the convulsed, dependant, militarised Ireland.

Is the drain of specie, by the increase of absentees, to be a commercial advantage? when the money transmitted to absentees shall much exceed the balance of our trade, our specie must necessarily vanish, as was the case in Scotland, in consequence of her Union. Let the House consider, whether at this day the general balance of our trade compensates for the drain by absentees: but how much will that drain be increased, when not only all the rich men of the country must be banished, but when the man, who would solicit even a gauger's place, must solicit at Whitehall?

The loss of specie was not the only evil that Scotland suffered by an Union. The Union of two Crowns, about to be separated, compensated those evils; but the Crown of Ireland is inseparable, united and identified with that of Great Britain; we cannot gain the only benefit that Scotland gained; but the very Act by which she gained it, submitted her to a great political evil—it made her Constitution, as far as the treaty of Union went, incapable of amendment, except by the violation of solemn compact. She never could have obtained the Law of Treason, or the abolition of her heritable offices and jurisdictions, if the British Parliament had not directly violated the Act of Union.—The British Parliament were placed in this dilemma, either to leave Scotland subject to bad laws and institutions, or to break forcibly through the most solemn engagement. She preferred the latter: perhaps wisely; but when, for her own benefit, she preferred the same line of conduct with regard to taxation, for such was the unanimous opinion of Scotland with regard to the Malt tax, not the unanimous desire of every Scotch representative could break the Act of Union. Such is the absurdity of a written Constitution, happily ridiculed by Mr. Burke in his first Philippic against the first “unalterable” Constitution of France; for he well knew, that the best part of the British Constitution was the “*lex non scripta*.”

But it is not on such petty considerations that Ireland will reject a measure that involves her liberty and independance for ever.—This attempt of the British Minister is more atrocious than any of the incorporating schemes of the French Republic. The nations when France incorporated, had no free Constitutions to



lose.—Brabant had seen her *joyeuse entrée* trampled under foot, long before the French entered Flanders.—Had the slaves of Savoy, or the priests of Avignon, rights, liberties, or a constitution to lose?—And yet even the contemptible Avignon, priest-ridden and pope-ridden, did not submit with bloodless hands to her Union, and did not fall, untill mangled and breathless, at the feet of her political butcher and incorporating tyrant.—But it is not an affair of such petty interests; it is not an affair of parish politics, as it has been called, when a free and a populous nation is called upon to surrender the management of her own concerns for ever.—It is not whether the Sabin name shall be lost in the Roman; whether a dishonoured nation shall sink into the arms of her conquerors.—The British Minister indeed may wish to raise a new altar to Neptune; he may wish to make Ireland the sacrifice; he may wish to ravish from her, her dearest rights and interests; and on this House alone, may it perhaps depend this day to save our country.

Mr. BARRINGTON rose to give his decided support to the motion—a motion which he conceived the future peace and security of Ireland absolutely required—and which could not be opposed but by the enemies of both.

On the last night the question of a Legislative Union had met with unequivocal disapprobation from the most respectable and independant minority that ever opposed a ministerial measure; and he trusted a majority against it would this night put the question effectually at rest.

But as the Parliament justly reprobated this measure of the British Minister, he thought they were called upon to substitute some other arrangement which might tranquillise the public mind—and tend to give an equal interest to all the inhabitants of Ireland in the preservation of its freedom and independance.—He had too long witnessed the desperate consequences of national disunion;—but he now looked with an eager eye to the annihilation of these ruinous animosities which the British Government had so long successfully fomented—and now so treacherously made use of.

The vicious project of a Legislative Union avowedly intended to put down Protestant prosperity—annihilate Catholic claims—and equally extinguish the liberties of both sects—had already opened the eyes of every sect and class of Irishmen, to the dangers that awaited their country—and promoted a tendency to the national reconciliation, which was now the only bulwark against national slavery, and he trusted would induce any sect to forget their private injuries in the public security.

Mr. Barrington then went into a defence of the Irish Bar, which he said had been most falsely and insolently aspersed;—

springing from the first families in Ireland, it spoke the sense of the nation.—The Irish Lawyers had saved their country by their spirit as soldiers—and again would help to save it by their principles as politicians;—they had roused the nation to a sense of its danger, and would persevere in its defence to the last extremity.

Their spirit—their independance—their integrity and their loyalty had been tried and stood the test;—and their late Prime Serjeant had reflected an honour on the profession, which the profession had been emulous to return;—he stood higher in their regard by his dismissal,—and his successor would soon feel the degradation of so detestable a situation.—Mr. Barrington warned the Minister against proceeding in a measure which would drive the country to desperation—and might eventually prove the downfall of the British Empire;—he had deceived the British Minister by false representations of our situation and temper—and should answer for the consequence of so wrong-headed a policy.—Having given his opinion fully on a former night, he should not now go into further detail, and should only congratulate the House on the prospect of a division which would at once assert the independance and secure the liberties of Ireland.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL spoke a few words in support of the Paragraph; after which a division took place, when there appeared

For the expunging the Paragraph	}	109
relating to the Union,		
Against the motion,	-	104
		<hr/>
Majority against the Paragraph,		5

Tellers for the Ayes, Lord Tyrone and Mr. Smith.

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Ponsonby and Sir Laurence Parsons.

Lord CASTLEREAGH said, that he had brought forward this measure in compliance with the duties of his situation, and with no other view than the mutual advantage of both countries, and the general strength, welfare, and prosperity of the Empire. He would be a silly Minister indeed, who would bring forward such a measure at this day, with any inferior views; because he must know that any objects of a different nature must defeat, instead of answering a great imperial purpose. However, those Gentlemen who thought fit to oppose the measure, without so much as examining a tittle of its purport, or its arrangements, would recollect, that when the day should come that this House would feel the necessity of its adoption, upon their own heads be the responsibility for rejecting this night a measure of such

high importance to the tranquillity and solid happiness of their country.

Mr. PONSONBY now rose and said, that in order that no Minister might hereafter venture to bring forward in that House a measure so obnoxious, he should move a Resolution to be entered in the Journals, in the following words:—"Resolved, That "this House will ever maintain the undoubted birth-right of "Irishmen, by preserving an independent Parliament of Lords "and Commons, resident within this kingdom, as settled and "approved by his Majesty and the British Parliament in 1782." This Motion, after some conversation, was withdrawn.

Col. FITZGERALD brought up the Report of the Address to to his Excellency.

Lord CASTLEREAGH then suggested the propriety of expunging a Paragraph of similar purport to that rejected from the Address; which being done, the Address was agreed to, and ordered that Mr. Speaker, attended by the House, do wait on his Excellency to present the same.

Lord Castlereagh now moved a Resolution of Thanks and Approbation from this House to Sir J. B. Warren, and the Officers, Sailors and Marines under his command, for their gallant conduct in the defeat of the enemy on the coast of this Kingdom, on their way to invade it.

Agreed to *nem. con.* and ordered that Mr. Speaker do communicate the same.

---

SATURDAY—JAN. 26.

The SPEAKER having taken the chair,

Lord CASTLEREAGH moved, that a writ of election be issued for the borough of Newry, in the room of the Right Honourable Isaac Corry, who had vacated his seat, by accepting the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. G. PONSONBY said, the Noble Lord was somewhat premature in his motion, for that Mr. Corry had not vacated his seat, as he was not Chancellor of the Exchequer. The office, he said, was derived immediately and solely from the Crown, and no new writ of appointment having been made by his Majesty, the Right Hon. Baronet, who had recently exercised so honourably the duties of that office, was still the undoubted and legal Chancellor of the Exchequer, although the name, or the business, may have been usurped by another.

Sir J. PARNEL said, that certainly he felt that he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, under the circumstances mentioned by his honourable and learned Friend;—but as, unfortunately, he happened to differ in opinion from his Majesty's Ministers in this kingdom, on a great national question, he also felt himself called upon by delicacy to those Ministers, and his duty to his Country, to counsel his Sovereign only through the medium of his parliamentary privilege and conduct.

Lord CASTLEREAGH acknowledged that he had been premature; and standing corrected by the opinion of the honourable and learned Gentleman who spoke last but one, he begged leave to withdraw his motion, which was granted accordingly.

The House then adjourned for half an hour.

The SPEAKER reported, that the House had attended his Excellency with the Address to his Majesty, and he was pleased to return for answer, viz.

“ That he would forthwith transmit their dutiful and loyal Address to his Majesty.”

The Speaker also reported that he had presented the Address of Thanks of that House to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for his most excellent Speech to both Houses of Parliament, and that his Excellency was pleased to return the following Answer :

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ Your kind Address, which conveys an approbation of my conduct in such marked and flattering language, is highly grateful to my feelings.

“ I am assured that in this arduous conjuncture you will steadily pursue those measures which will be most effectual for increasing the strength of the Empire, and employing its resources against the common enemy; and I shall faithfully represent to his Majesty, your zeal for his service and for the general interests of Great Britain and Ireland.”

Ordered, That his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's Answer be entered on the Journals of this House.

Lord COLE moved the Thanks of the House to the British fencible and militia Regiments, who came in time of danger to this country, to afford protection to its loyal inhabitants. The motion was seconded by several Members on his side of the House.

Lord CASTLEREAGH said, that previous to the departure of those regiments who had so generously and seasonably volunteered their assistance to this Country, it was his intention to have made a similar motion to that which had been just proposed; but he



did not regret his having been anticipated, as it could not have fallen into more suitable hands, nor have been brought forward more seasonably than at the present time; those troops having but a few days since renewed their offers of service in this country. He concluded by heartily coinciding with the motion of the Noble Lord.

Col. MAXWELL in a few words expressed his warm concurrence with the motion. The readiness of those troops to assist their loyal fellow-subjects in this country, merited gratitude and thanks, notwithstanding that the native courage and loyalty of the country had left them nothing to do.

Hon. D. BROWNE passed an high eulogium on the British militia, and the generosity with which they had waived the right of refusal, with which the laws had armed them, and their promptness to face that war of Rebellion which had been raised in this kingdom. He commented particularly on the conduct of the Marquis of Buckingham's regiment, which had actually embarked for the purpose of assisting this country, when menaced by the French fleet in Bantry Bay. He was happy that this motion was proposed at a moment when there appeared in that House a jealousy and distrust of the best intended acts, and the most important kindnesses, manifested by the sister Country—[a general and loud cry of No! No! ]—He was happy, he said, to stand contradicted; and hoped always to find similar appearances equally fallacious. He expressed his hearty concurrence to the motion.

Col. BAGWELL, in supporting the motion, paid his tribute of approbation to the British militia; and said, that the regiment he had the honour to command (the county Tipperary militia) were so sensible of the generous conduct of their British fellow soldiers, that the very day before he left the country, his serjeant major waited on him, to offer the services of the regiment in any part of Great Britain, which any public exigence might render necessary.

The vote of thanks passed unanimously and was ordered to be communicated by the Speaker.

Mr. CORRY moved for several communications relative to the Public Accounts; he also moved for leave to bring in a Bill, to amend and explain a Bill passed in the last session, for preventing persons transported from returning to these kingdoms, or going to any Country at war with his Majesty—Leave given.—He further moved, that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's Speech be taken into consideration on Monday, after which the House adjourned to that day.

MONDAY, JANUARY 28.

The Right Hon. Lord CASTLEREAGH rose and said, that in order that an opportunity might be given to the public officers to bring forward the public accounts, and that no interruption might occur to the public business of Parliament, in getting through the business of the nation, he should now move that the House at its rising do adjourn till the 7th of February.

Sir JOHN PARNELL opposed the motion, and said there never was a moment in which it was more necessary than at present for the Parliament of Ireland to remain sitting, vigilant at its post: For if he was to credit the reports made in the English newspapers of the discussions respecting the affairs of this country, which took place in another Parliament, and the declaration made by the British Minister "that he would unceasingly persevere in a measure respecting the internal situation of this country," to which the Parliament of Ireland had so recently and so decidedly given its negative, he trusted the House would see the necessity of resisting the measure of adjournment, at least until they should know what were the sentiments of the British Minister and the British Parliament, when they should come to learn the sentiments expressed and the decision which took place in the Parliament of Ireland on this subject; for it was impossible the British Minister or Parliament could have known the sentiments of the Parliament of Ireland, when they had discussed the measure on the very same day it was rejected here.—The Noble Lord near (Castlereagh) though he had said he would not lose sight of the measure, yet had declared he never should think of passing it against the sense of the country, and of Parliament—indeed no Minister of any talent or wisdom would. The British Minister he knew to be a man of great talents and great wisdom, who, he was convinced, however highly he approved of the measure, would not think of pressing it against every sentiment of sound discretion.—He must therefore presume his declarations on the subject were made under a mistake, or a misrepresentation of the sentiments of the Parliament and people of Ireland; and convinced he was that so soon as that great man should come to know the decision which had taken place in that House upon the subject, he could not be either so impolitic or so rash as to persevere. That House and the people of Ireland had learnt, since the decision of Thursday last, to consider the question as at rest; that the declaration of the British Minister could not fail now to excite new alarms, nor could those alarms ever be quiet in this country, so long as the people could consider the measure as still hanging over them; and if the British Minister were to persist in the declaration after the sense of the Irish Parliament and

Irish people were known to him, it is impossible for any friend to his country or British connexion, to contemplate the consequences without the most serious alarm. With respect to the public business, there existed in his mind no occasion whatever to adjourn the Parliament on that account. No adjournment at least should take place until the result should be known of the decision adopted by the Irish Parliament on the sentiments of the British Cabinet, and Parliament should continue sitting and be ready to act, as occasion might require, and to vindicate its own independence and maintain its Constitution. He was actuated by no other motive but a consideration for the tranquillity of the country, and the general welfare of the Empire, and no man could be more ready to sacrifice largely for those desirable ends; but it was impossible this country could be tranquil until that measure was at rest; therefore if the British Minister was resolved to press it forward to discussion, contrary to the sense of Parliament, the sooner it was decided the better.

Lord CASTLEREAGH rose and said, the Right Hon. Baronet himself furnished by his arguments the strongest reasons for the necessity of the adjournment. The Right Hon. Baronet had heretofore recommended that all discussion on this subject should be conducted with temperance and moderation; but unfortunately, in evincing his high jealousy for the parliamentary independence of Ireland, a species of intemperate warmth had crept into his manner of treating the subject. That House would but ill support its own dignity, if it were to be ruled in its proceedings by the unauthenticated reports of newspapers; it should wait for authentic documents, whereon to govern its conduct. But what was the language attributed to the British Minister in discussing this topic in the British Parliament? Nothing more than what had already been used by himself (Lord C.) in that House, merely recommending the measure of Union to the consideration of Parliament, and declaring it to be a measure, in his conception so essentially indispensable to perpetuate the connexion between both kingdoms, to consolidate their mutual strength, and promote their mutual prosperity, that he should never lose sight of it. Certainly not meaning that he would, or could press it against the Irish Parliament and the Irish people, if that sentiment should appear to be generally against the measure; but expressing his own full conviction of its utility and indispensability for the ends proposed; and he would not deserve to be a Minister, who though such a measure might for the present be contrary to the sense of Parliament and of the nation, would bind himself by any declaration that might forever hereafter preclude him from propounding that or any other measure for the consideration of Parliament, which he, as

a Minister, bound to promote the good of the country, should conceive to be directed for that end. For though the measure would be now opposite to the sense of Parliament, and perhaps of the people, a time might come when the question might be better understood, and both the people and the Parliament solicit the measure. If such a time should come, would the Minister be bound by a declaration that he had abandoned it? Certainly it could not be the wish of the British Government to press the measure against the sense of the country, when that sense was known; and therefore, gentlemen, by an untimely warmth on this subject, imputed that to Government, which Government never intended. However, as the Right Hon. Baronet seemed to admit the propriety of awaiting the result of the discussion of the Irish Parliament by the sentiments of the British Cabinet, the public officers would employ their time with much greater advantage for the public in their respective departments, by preparing the public business for parliamentary examination, than by meeting day after day to do nothing.

Mr. BARRINGTON opposed the adjournment, and inveighed against the speech of the British Minister on this subject. A Noble Lord had talked of coolness in discussing the subject; but it was that kind of proposition, so insulting to the honour and the sense of the Irish nation, as no honest Irishman, alive to the love of his country, or who had any feeling for national honour, could hear with coolness. There was not, he affirmed, a man within either nation more zealously attached in loyalty to his King and the Government than himself, nor who would sacrifice more cheerfully to the maintenance of both; but if the honour and the dignity of the Irish Parliament was to be again outraged, by an attempt to press upon them the odious measure of an Union, against which that House had already contended with so much spirit, virtue, and honest indignation, though supported by the most insulting attempts to awe the honest independance of the members of that House, by dismissing from the highest situations some of the oldest and most respectable servants of the Crown, and bestowing their places on men who had no merit, but supporting the politics of Government—he declared, that he for one, would go every length to oppose it in every shape and in all its ramifications. The people of Ireland should be told, and in the strongest manner, of this daring attack on the independance of their Parliament and the liberties of their country; they should find in that Parliament the faithful guardians of their liberties and rights; and in the spirit of both, the British Minister would see the rashness of his attempting to persevere. He was firmly of opinion with the Right Hon. Baronet, that the House ought vigilantly to sit from day to day, to guard against every advance of



this insidious measure ; and if it should be persevered in, that House ought to come forthwith to some strong declaration in assertion of its own authority and independance.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH supported the adjournment, as a measure necessary to give the Country time to express its sense generally on the subject. The sense of the Country, he was convinced, was not generally against the measure ; he had conversed this day with a gentleman of great respectability from the county of Cork, who assured him, all that province were decidedly in favour of the measure.

Hon. Mr. TRENCH was for the adjournment, as the best mode of preventing the agitation of the public mind, so long anxious upon this question that it required time to repose ; it would also afford time to collect the sense of the country at large on the subject, which the sense of the House had already considered as abandoned, and which he trusted the British Minister, whose declaration was made evidently under a misconception of that sense and without any knowledge of its decision, would never think of persevering in that measure against the sense of the Parliament and people of Ireland.

Sir JOHN FREKE rose in consequence of what had fallen from a Right Hon. Bart. (Sir H. Cavendish) touching the sentiments of the people of Munster. He had not this day conversed with many gentlemen from that country, but he had received letters from some of the most respectable and best informed gentlemen in that province, which so far from declaring the people there unanimous in favour of an Union positively assured him of the strongest persuasion, that had the vote of Thursday night passed in favour of that measure, the whole province would have been the next day in open rebellion ; and added, that it would not be very safe for the Members who voted for the measure to return to that part of the country.

Colonel BAGWELL said, that he would only speak in this point for that county in Munster which he had the honour to represent, (Tipperary.) He had received several letters from some of the best informed gentlemen in that country, and so had his colleague, declaring the whole county to a man decidedly averse to the measure of an Union.

Mr. PLUNKET condemned the declaration of the British Minister, which was made under the influence of ignorance and delusion, as to what were the real sentiments of the Parliament and people of Ireland on the subject of Union.—He must suppose that the British Minister had been taught to reckon upon the certain and infallible success of his project for influencing the Irish

Parliament, and he could not have discovered his error in the decision of that Parliament, when he had the temerity to utter the speech alluded to, and of the authenticity of which there was pretty good evidence in a confidential paper of the Minister's (the Sun.) The public mind (as the Hon. Member had observed) stood in need of repose after so much agitation as it had recently sustained upon this topic, and therefore he should not oppose the motion for adjournment; but if it should appear in the next meeting of the House, that the British Minister still persisted in his rash design, he would call upon every gentleman on this side of the House who had already voted against the measure, and upon any gentlemen on the other side, who through false delicacy had not resisted the proposal for entertaining it, to come forward in vindication of the honour, the dignity, and the independence of the Irish Parliament and the Irish nation, and by some strong and decided declaration put an *extinguisher* upon this odious and abominable measure. The Noble Lord had intimated that the time might come when the Parliament and the country would be glad to solicit the measure, as the only means of effectually securing tranquillity. He hoped the Noble Lord did not mean to insinuate that measures would be adopted to produce such a situation in the country as would create the necessity of such a situation, in order that "what was spoken by the Prophets might be fulfilled."—He was not overfond to see a Minister ruling the country, who seemed to have a taste for verifying his own predictions as to the necessity he foretold; and he wished to see that Minister and his British colleague removed from office, a circumstance which could not much affect them, as they seemed to cool to feel for any event.

Mr. MCLELAND considered the declaration of the Noble Lord (Castlereagh) to be merely that he would not bring forward the question of an Union against the sense of Parliament and the country, on that principle he would support the adjournment, but if the country spoke out against the measure of an Union, then would he be found as strenuous in opposing it, as he had heretofore been in its support.

Mr. DOBBS said, that from the decision which the House had given, and the declaration of the Noble Lord, every man within and without those walls considered the question of Union as abandoned; but from the declaration of the British Minister "that he would lose sight of the measure but with his life," that House would see the indispensable necessity of its unceasing vigilance, in guarding every pass, and fortifying every avenue by which the liberties of Ireland and her Legislative independence might be attacked. He therefore called upon gentlemen who had succeeded in the first defeat of the measure, to watch vigilantly

on their posts, and by a constant and unremitting attendance to their duty in that House, to leave no opportunity for surprise when attack was openly and immutably avowed and determined.

Mr. EGAN did not resist the question of adjournment, but hoped Gentlemen would take the advantage of that recess, in apprising their constituents in every part of the kingdom of the danger which menace the liberty and independance of their country, of guarding them against insidious attempts to cajole their understandings, and of coming back to Parliament fortified by their public and unequivocal declaration of sentiment on this subject; and thus, he trusted, the manly and dignified spirit of an Irish Parliament, backed by the resolutions of an Irish people, determined to maintain that Parliament in asserting and vindicating the constitutional independance of their country, would deter any Minister from venturing to attempt the subversion of that independance. If, in the year 1782, when this country attained that independance, any Minister was found daring enough to hazard such a proposal, there would be men found in this House to rise and move an address to his Majesty, praying him to dismiss from his councils, and remove from office such a Minister; and if any farther attempt should be made to force this measure on the House, he trusted men would still be found to bring forward such a motion.

Mr. KNOX said a few words to the same purport.

Sir B. ROCHE asked the gentlemen who opposed the Union, how it was possible things could remain in the state they had so long continued? He hoped those gentlemen when they should return from their constituents after the recess, if they should still be resolved to oppose an Union, would be ready to bring forward some other effectual plan for securing the tranquility of the country, and putting a stop to anarchy and confusion.

Mr. WOLFE (of Forenaught) took this opportunity to express his regret at not having been present on the discussion of the Union question; on that measure, however, he thought it but fair, manly and honourable, for every who had not voted, to declare his sentiments, and his own ever must decidedly be against that measure.

Mr. BROOKE rose to declare, that had he been present, he should have certainly voted against the measure.

The question being now put, was carried in the affirmative without further opposition.

Col. (MAXWELL) BARRY aid, he had no objection to the adjournment moved by the Noble Lord; but as from the declaration

of the British Minister any stratagem would be apprehended for carrying his point, gentlemen hostile to the project would see the necessity of the fullest attendance throughout the session; and he should therefore move a call of the House on the 8th of February.

Lord CASTLEREAGH assured the Hon. Gentleman nothing could more satisfactorily accommodate the government than a full attendance of Members at all times, as the best means of expediting the public business; and with respect to the question of Union, he had already declared his determination explicitly, "that he should never bring it forward so long as it appeared to him repugnant to the sense of Parliament and the country." But certainly it could never have been his intention to have brought it forward but with a view to the most ample discussion in the fullest attendance of Members that could be procured; and had the House decided in favour of the discussion on the former night, he should immediately have moved for a call of the House. The Hon. Gentleman might therefore rest assured he was incapable of taking the House or the country by surprise upon such an important subject, nor to attempt passing it against their sentiments.

Col. (MAXWELL) BARRY observed, the Noble Lord could not himself answer for what he might do, as he must act according to the instructions he received from the other side.

Mr. MARTIN wished the call of the House postponed to a further day, in order to give ample time for gentlemen to take the sense of their constituents.

Col. (MAXWELL) BARRY amended his motion to the 11th of February, which was agreed to.

Sir H. CAVENDISH, after a short preface, in which he stated, that the House of Parliament had been degraded by personal outrage and insult to several of its Members, coming to and retiring from that House, in consequence of votes given in that House, moved three resolutions to the following effect:

"That any insult or assault offered to any Member of Parliament coming to or going from that House, in consequence of any thing said or done in Parliament; or any attempt to intimidate any Member from any vote in that House; or any tumultuous assemblage of persons meeting in the passages to that House to awe or intimidate its Members, to or from any vote on any measure, is an high infringement on the privileges of that House."

Col. (MAXWELL) BARRY declared for himself personally he had neither witnessed nor heard of any such insult or violence of-



ferred to any Member. If the Right Hon. Baronet alluded to the joy shewn by the people on a late occasion, he thought, considering the exultation universally felt, the conduct of the populace extremely calm and patient before and during the discussion, and extremely moderate in their expression of triumph on the defeat of the measure—he heard indeed of boys throwing squibs and breaking windows that were not illuminated. Such things were usual and ordinary (though he could not justify them) on every popular occasion; but he saw nothing particular on this occasion; nor had the Right Hon. Baronet specified any grounds to shew the necessity of passing resolutions to declare now what was the known law of parliamentary privilege and of the land.

Dr. BROWNE expressed similar sentiments, as did Mr. BARRINGTON, who said he had heard it asserted this day in the Hall of the Four Courts, that the Right Hon. Baronet had declared his determination to move for the removal of the Parliament to Cork, in order to secure safety in its deliberations.

The Right Hon. ATTORNEY GENERAL said it was notorious that both the persons of Members had been assaulted and abused by the most opprobrious names, their houses attacked by mobs, and themselves declared traitors to their country, for having voted in favour of Union; and that certainly such attempt to overawe the Parliament would warrant its removal to Cork.

The Right Hon. DENIS BROWNE, in proof of the daring insults which had been offered to the dignity of that House, read a paragraph from the Evening Post of Saturday night, calling the Minister of the country and those members who voted for an Union "*a Corrupt Minister and his corrupt phalanx.*" It was, he said, his intention to have called the printer to the bar this night, and moved for his committal to Newgate, which he declared he would do the very next time he saw so daring and contumacious a libel in print.

Lord CASTLEREAGH moved that a supply be granted to his Majesty. Agreed to.

Ordered that the House do resolve into a committee on the 7th of February to take the same into consideration.

Ordered that the Speaker do issue his writ for electing a Burgess for Newry, in the room of the Right Hon. Isaac Corry who has accepted the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; and another for Galway in the room of St. G. Daly, Esq. who has accepted the office of Prime Serjeant; also for Mullingar in the room of Mr. Hardy, who has accepted the Escheatorship of Munster; and also for Mr. Luke Fox, who has accepted the Escheatorship of Ulster.—The House adjourned to Thursday, February the 7th.

